

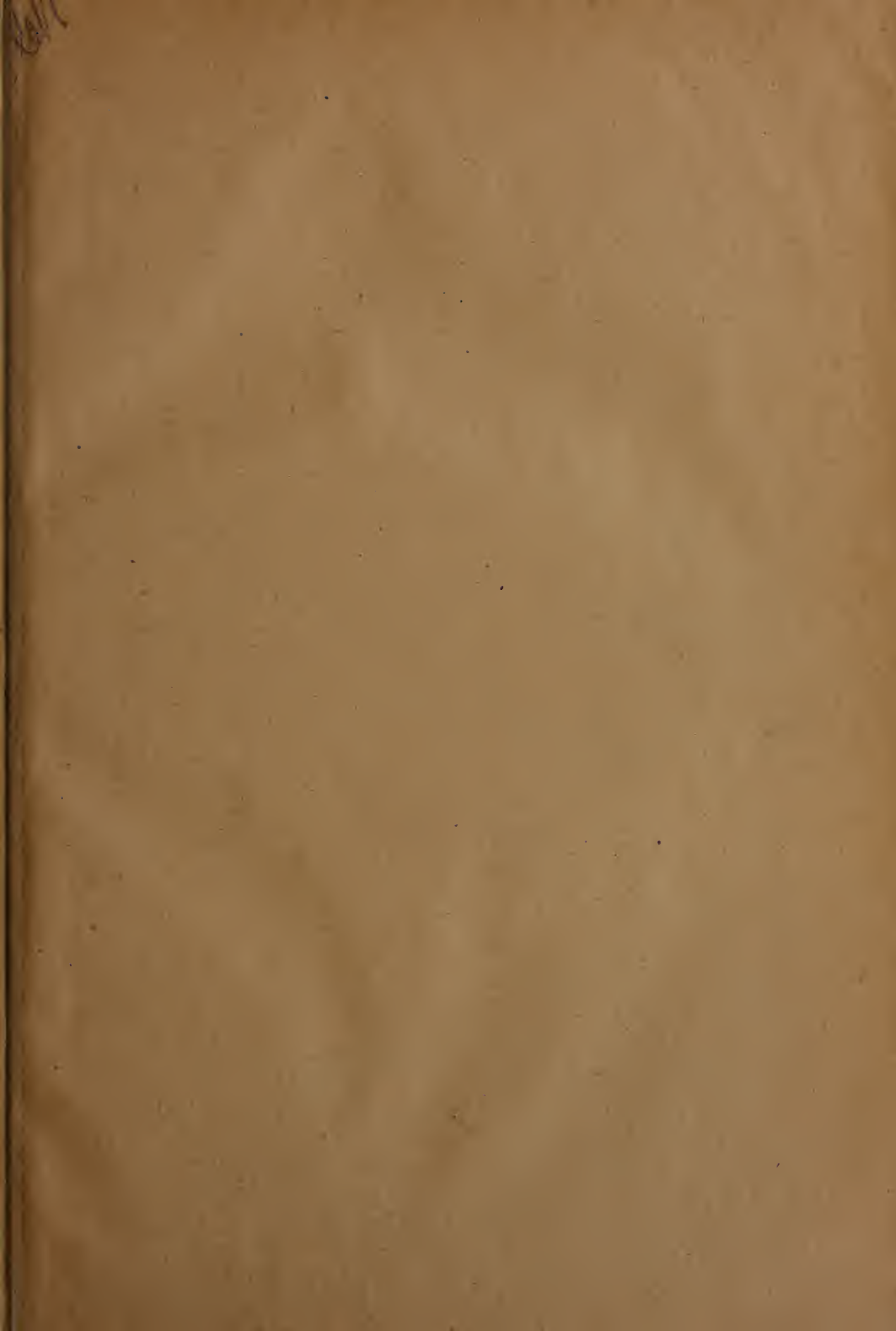
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THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO AN
UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN CONDUCT

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY

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VOLUME V

JANUARY, 1918

NUMBER I

ANALYSIS OF A CASE OF MANIC-DEPRESSIVE PSYCHOSIS SHOWING WELL-MARKED REGRESSIVE STAGES¹

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I

In undertaking to make a detailed report of the case here discussed, I am guided by the principle first laid down by Freud² and Breuer in connection with the psychoneuroses, applied with conspicuous success by Jung³ and Meyer⁴ to the præcox group of disorders, and by Abraham,⁵ Maeder,⁶ MacCurdy⁷ and C. M. Campbell⁸ to the manic-depressive group. This principle is that the psychosis is not a wild unordered outbreak of mental entities, due to physical disorders the causality of which cannot possibly be demonstrated,

¹ Read at a meeting of the Washington Psychoanalytic Society, December 8, 1917.

² S. Freud: *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, 1893-1906, Leipzig, 1906.

³ C. G. Jung: *The Psychology of Dementia Præcox*, Leipzig, 1909.

⁴ Adolf Meyer: *The Dynamic Interpretation of Dementia Præcox*, *American Journal of Psychology*, 1910.

⁵ K. Abraham: *Ansätze zur psychoanalytischen Erforschung und Behandlung des Manisch-Depressiven Irreseins und verwandte Zustände*, *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*, 1912.

⁶ Maeder: *Psychoanalyse bei einer Melancholischen Depression*, *Jahrbuch für Nervenkranken und Psychiatrie*, III, 1911.

⁷ J. T. MacCurdy: *Productions in a Manic-like State illustrating Freudian Mechanisms*, *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 8, 1914.

⁸ C. M. Campbell: *On the mechanism of some cases of manic-depressive excitement*, *Medical Record*, New York, 1914.

but that it is a definite and not altogether incomprehensible reaction to a set of circumstances governing the individual's life. It is an actual constructive attempt on the part of the patient to meet and adapt himself to conditions that he finds himself unable to meet in a normal and successful way. Close and intelligent observation of a manic patient, with only a fairly comprehensive inquiry into his past life, may be sufficient to reveal the probability of such an explanation, while a careful psychological analysis may establish it beyond a doubt. The work of Abraham, MacCurdy and Campbell has done invaluable service in establishing the analytical method of studying the manic-depressive psychosis. I submit this hoping that it will be useful, first, in confirming the views that they have set forth, and second, in offering a more distinct and orderly manifestation of the regression-phenomena than has hitherto been published in the literature of the manic type of psychosis.

Another point of great interest which I have made no attempt to work out in the limits of the present contribution is the suggestion of close relationship between the different types of functional psychosis. The patient under discussion showed, especially at the onset of the psychosis, symptoms associated with *præcox* or schizophrenia, and, further back than that, manifestations attributed to hysteria. As the psychosis progressed, the manic symptoms came more and more to the front, however, so that the final diagnosis agreed upon was that of manic-depressive psychosis, determined by the patient's distractibility, the flight of activity, the absence of stereotypy, the periodicity of the attacks, the manifestly extroverted type of personality, and—but this is now of very questionable diagnostic value—the complete recovery. If only a brief account of the case, made from casual observation, were given, the periodic recurrence of the same regressive order of activity, set forth in the pages to follow, might be construed as representing a stereotyped character, but the fact is that the particular activities of the successive recurrences were never the same. The general interests were somewhat the same, but the reaction to these interests was always different, and everything in the patient's environment played its part. The distinguishing marks of schizophrenia were absent, while, as MacCurdy has shown, the archaic type of reaction, which was formerly attributed to the *præcox* group, may also occur in manic cases. I have in mind two other cases of unquestioned manic type which illustrate this fact and which I hope to report in a future communication.

In the present case it is almost conceivable that the patient might have taken any one of three types of reaction—psychoneurotic, schizophrenic or manic-depressive—that she hesitated for a time in an indeterminate state, and that finally her type of personality, more inclined to extroversion than introversion, energetic and masterful, determined the reaction to be of the manic character. The study of the case confirms, at any rate, the conclusion of Abraham and MacCurdy, that the conflicts and unsuccessful adaptations leading to this psychosis are of the same character as those leading to the hysterical attacks reported by Freud, and the præcox psychoses of Jung, Ernest Jones,⁹ Kempf,¹⁰ Meyèr, and others. The hypothesis that the type of psychosis developed is the outcome of factors of personality acting upon a biological situation of failure in adaptation common to all the functional psychoses and the psychoneuroses becomes worthy of study, and may well indicate a recasting of some of the current principles of differential diagnosis.

Lastly, it is hoped that a report made with such fullness of detail, at the risk of tedium, as I have put into this one, will be of value to those beginning the study of the psychoses by the psychoanalytic method, simply because it offers a wealth of illustrative material which can be related definitely to the development of an individual psyche.

II

The case reported is that of a young woman, aged twenty-one, admitted to St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C., in October, 1916, suffering from a maniacal attack reported to be her first. The patient showed flight, distractibility, great press of activity and some willfulness, but in a few days grew quiet, became interested in her surroundings and amenable to hospital discipline. Attacks of excitement, with much activity, recurred periodically thereafter, which I shall describe in the third division of this discussion.

There is a faulty heredity, her paternal grandfather, a brilliant man, having died of paresis, one paternal uncle was alcoholic, a maternal great aunt and uncle were feeble-minded, and her father is a clever but very erratic character, fond of wandering in his youth, unconventional, devoted to literary pursuits and mechanical

⁹ Ernest Jones: Notes on a case of Hypomania, Bulletin of the Ontario Hospitals for the Insane, 1910.

¹⁰ E. J. Kempf: The Psychology of "The Yellow Jacket," PSYCHO-ANALYTIC REVIEW, IV, 1917.

inventions. He is thought to have been very near a psychosis in his early manhood. The mother is of strong moral character but self-effacing. The father dominates the family. Neither parent furnished a satisfactory ideal for the growing girl.

The patient was fairly healthy, but had a weak throat after scarlatina, suffered much from constipation, treated by enemata, to which she objected, and showed, because of her very unhygienic upbringing, a good deal of auto-eroticism. She sucked her thumb, played with parts of her body, and developed the habit of masturbation in her twelfth year.

The family life was irregular and unconventional, affording little opportunity for the formation of stable habits. The absence of childish companions other than her younger sister, much attention from adults, and stimulation by her father's allowing the children to share in all their social life, fostered her natural precocity, her sturdy egoism, and her inability to fit in with companions her own age. She soon became sensitive over the irregularity of the home regime and over her lack of hygienic habits—notably regular bathing—and told her first remembered lies in order to conceal this from schoolmates. The feeling of inferiority generated by these differences from other children, first experienced when, at nine, she entered school, was combated for a time by an intellectual and social leadership, and by the notice she received from her teachers. She developed an attitude of superior aloofness when she found herself thrown much with younger children, as she was because of the late age at which she entered school, yet was of a naturally sociable disposition, readily responsive to other personalities. The absence of childish companionship sufficiently congenial and stimulating threw her back upon the life of fantasy indulged in by most children, which grew to undue proportions and persisted far into adolescence. She was taken much to the theater and opera, which overstimulated her imagination and created a taste for the spectacular and melodramatic. Play of a creative sort was neglected. The patient rebelled against it, besides, because other children did not go to the theater, and this was a further point of estrangement from them.

This was one of the things that led to a gradual growth of a feeling of being always *passive* in the hands of her father. A strong attachment to him strove with a perfectly natural but sternly repressed rebellion against him, until, in late adolescence, the conflict, pressing into the outskirts of consciousness, became effectual as one of the factors in the final overthrow of her mental balance. Much

of her difficulty was known by her to be indirectly traceable to her father's influence, although she repressed the conscious attitude of censuring him. His character fascinated her, while his inconsiderate conduct gave cause for irritation and lessened her filial respect. To his teaching and to the intellectual brilliance he lent the home circle she owed her own intellectual eminence, but to his eccentricity she owed her inability to fit easily into the environment about her. Her one way of asserting her own will against his domination was by imitating him as closely as possible, a way of "out-heroding Herod" found often enough in cases where a father-complex becomes paramount. In the psychosis later a favorite phrase of hers was "beating people at their own game."

The history of her sexual development is rather typical of the neurotic personality. When she was four, a boy of fifteen exposed himself to her. Her curiosity was aroused, but later suppressed so strongly that she grew up an unusually "innocent" girl. Soon after this, a little colored girl told her of the "devil." The idea became associated with her guilt over sex-curiosity, and she nightly feared to find the devil under her bed. Dreams of burglars and robbers creeping upon the house characterized this period. Further curiosity was aroused by the birth of a baby brother at five. She was quite ignorant and probably formulated the alimentary canal theory. Later she connected the delivery with the navel and played with that part of her body. Her mother gave her some very rudimentary instruction when she entered school at nine, promising more when she should be old enough to understand. The promise was never fulfilled, books and magazines, moreover, were expurgated before they were given her, and an over-conscientious—and compensatory—obedience to her mother forbade her to seek any ulterior means of satisfying the curiosity thus stimulated. Her painful experiences over menstruation as well as her puzzle over what constituted really modest and proper behavior fostered a growing craving for adequate knowledge and a growing resentment against those who denied it her. Kempf has noted (in his "Psychology of the Yellow Jacket," p. 417)¹¹ the confidence and reassurance generated in children who learn the life secret from their parents as contrasted with the timidity of those who learn from chance vulgarity. In the patient's adolescent days, the failure of a teacher, whose duty it was to instruct her charges in sex hygiene, and who passed over the topic with the remark that she would leave that to their mothers, inten-

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

sified the feeling of injury and helplessness that influenced her failure to develop her sexual life along wholesome lines.

Her attitude toward dolls when she was small showed how attentive she was to all that pertained to babies. She and her sister wore their dresses buttoned in front in order to nurse their dolls, and took endless pains with their care. They stirred an emotion in her that went beyond play. A healthy young woman tells me that when she was a child she wept with emotion while rocking her doll to sleep. Our patient, when in her teens, took up a fad, in common with a group of girls, of caring for the babies of her neighbors. Her emotions were deeply excited by this; she felt as if the children were her own and finally gave up the practice because of its agitating effect. Compare instances, noted in a former paper,¹² of young women with homosexual tendencies who find themselves unexpectedly weeping at the sight of a child. The emotion here expressed is at first projected upon the doll, later upon the infant, and is not the maternal feeling as commonly understood. It is rather the mirror of the mother-and-self identification, arising first through sexual gratification at the mother's contact, and issuing in narcissism and homosexuality, as shown in Trigrant Burrow's recent communication.¹³ In the feeling the child has for the doll, we see her identification with her mother, and her projection of her own individuality upon the doll. It is when the struggle against auto-erotism, the struggle to free the libido for better objects, is waging, that the extraordinary emotional effect is seen, in the childhood age of doll-play, and in the adolescent age of baby-love. Perhaps these examples of unusual affective behavior will tend to clarify the principle, set forth by Burrow, that homosexuality and the fixation on the mother, in male and female alike, are expressions of auto-erotism in subjectivity. For, as we have seen, the doll and the baby are really representatives of the infantile self. The girl who is deeply affected by her doll or by the care of an infant is seeing in it, unconsciously, her own infantile self, which she is loath to give up for a higher development. The retrospective longing for the mother's cherishing, for mother-contact, is thus expressed in its conflict with the upward and outward trend of growth. The unusual pains taken with the doll-play in the patient's childhood

¹² L. Dooley: A Study of Normal Complexes, p. 135, *American Journal of Psychology*, 1916.

¹³ "The Genesis and Meaning of Homosexuality, and its Relation to the Problem of Introverted States," *PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol. IV, No. 3.

might well pass as little significant had it not been for the reaction to infants occurring in her teens. In her psychosis, later, she played at being a doll, which was to be born as a baby. I am reminded of a dream of a young woman of twenty-seven, suffering from a neurosis, in which she saw a child of thirteen playing with a doll and reproved by bystanders for childishness. The dreamer defended the child (who represented herself) saying that to play with dolls at thirteen was quite natural.

A tendency to overweight the effects of sensory stimulation was strengthened by one or two untoward incidents. At school, when about ten, she was mortified by an involuntary urination, really unavoidable under the circumstances. The painful affect in this case was increased by her remorse over telling her chum a senseless lie about the affair. Here began her most distinct feeling of inferiority to others and her tendency to suffer deep humiliation over the least failure or mistake. The incident became a typical one to her mind, recalled whenever she was in an embarrassing situation, but never spoken of. Could she have discussed it with her mother or teacher, much of its seriousness would have dissolved. It served to establish a conditioned reflex for over-affective reactions to stimuli tending to arouse humiliation.

In her twelfth year a trained nurse suggested to her mother that her vivid color might indicate the approach of puberty. Her mother, accordingly, told her, with a show of embarrassment, flushing, and gulping, something of the expected change. The girl received the impression that there was something terrifying, shameful, or at least very unpleasant, in the event, and became hysterical. Afterward she examined to see if the expected phenomenon, which she understood but imperfectly, had begun, and so formed the habit of masturbation. This habit remained undiscovered by her parents until the development of the psychosis, and the patient received no censure, but the habit generated both guilt and further fixation of the libido upon her own person, dragging it back in its upward climb.

The first menstruation, which did not appear until three years after the warning was given, by which time the facts imparted were almost forgotten, came on a day of great stress and fatigue, was attended by much pain, and consequent terror because the girl feared that she had committed an indiscretion, and dared not tell her mother. The unfortunate mental attitude developed at her first instruction was further nourished, and the periods, always painful and often occurring at times when unusual effort was demanded,

were never handled in a sensible way. Rebellion against her lot as a woman strove with the womanly hopes born with adolescence, while a feeling of strangeness and mystery, and of helplessness in the hands of fate went with it all. Conflicting ideals of character, born of her desire to be like her father and of his desire that she conform to the domestic type, received a reinforcement by opposing ideas from this struggle between repudiation of and pride in the feminine rôle.

Her entrance into a large city high school, at fourteen, presented to her a complex environment, to which, partly because of home conditions, inharmonious with the demands of school, and partly because of a sensitive egoism that demanded more recognition of her merits than she could here receive, she could not adapt herself. She made few friends, because unable to bear small slights, and compensated by leading her classes in her studies—which, at this high school, won far less applause than social success would gain her. The distance between the school and the place at which she lived made full participation in the social activities of the school impossible, a situation which she used to explain her humiliating social isolation until the entrance of her sister, in the third year, showed its inadequacy. The sister surmounted external obstacles to pleasurable social life with ease, and won great popularity. A born coquette, and less conscientious than the patient, she was daringly unconventional and evaded her parent's rules, as the patient longed to do but dared not. This brought to consciousness a strong sense of her personal inadequacy, which she quickly suppressed with a reaction of condemnation of her sister. The conflict was manifest thereafter in her irritability toward her sister, whom she had devotedly loved, and in her exaggerated propriety of conduct. She worried over the slightest lapse, felt self-condemned for the chance caresses of one or two older men—who sometimes put an arm around her shoulders—and feared that she was not normally modest because she craved attention. Her father preached much of modesty, but left her at sea as to what constituted modest behavior, and she was obsessed with the fear of unintentional transgression.

In her seventeenth year occurred the event that fixed the hatred complex upon her sister while it had an effect upon the patient's struggling heterosexual development actually traumatic. The sister taunted her with never having received any love letters. She had read all the patient's carefully preserved correspondence, and knew. She declared that the patient could not read *her* letters. Stung by

the implication, the older girl sought the letters, and stumbled, instead, upon a sort of diary, kept in silly schoolgirl fashion, which set forth in plain and unvarnished terms the assumed contrast between the charms and the successes of the younger and the older. Full of romantic dreams, as girls of seventeen are, sensitive and vain moreover, and suffering with the sense of slight and failure, the patient was shocked into a complete renunciation, so far as outward efforts went, of the normal social interplay of the sexes, and of social pleasures in general. She fell back, consciously, upon her home life, her ambitions to become a good housekeeper and a help to her mother, and upon the friends of her own sex, where her sister's rivalry was less apparent and menacing. Unconsciously, or subconsciously, she reverted to the narcissistic attitude of the pre-pubertal days. This is the first clearly defined retrogression that occurred in her development.

Immediately afterward she suffered from an apparently gastric trouble which was referred to a stomach specialist and treated for nearly a year by dieting. There is reason to believe that the trouble was functional, as it did not entirely clear up until the beginning of outspoken mental disturbance, and that it was due to the patient's reaction to the series of strong repressions just effected. The foods that had to be avoided were preferred during her psychosis and were later analyzed by the patient in relation to her repressed sexual wishes.

Her only actual love affair, with a boy a year younger than herself, to whose feelings she could not respond, precipitated a painful complex of feeling with regard to marriage. She had been trained by her parents to look forward to marriage as the one possible career for a woman, and had taken an interest in domestic arts, while her tastes were really more for study, literature and art, in order to prepare herself for wifedom. Her own lack of social success, compared with her sister's popularity, led her to wonder if, after all, she might not miss the goal, and, if she did miss it, what she possibly could do. These thoughts were rather nebulous until the affair with the boy in question brought them to mind. She did not care for him, and he was the only one who cared deeply for her. She feared marriage and yet felt bound to accept it as the only way to success. A way out presented itself—namely, physical or mental unfitness. Her menstrual troubles, which had served to fix her attention upon the sensations of the genital region, indicated to her that she might not be normal. The struggle with auto-eroticism brought her into

a dreamy, slightly dissociated state, not unnatural in adolescence, which made her apprehensive of losing her mental balance. Her grandfather's insanity and her father's eccentricity led to the belief that she might inherit insanity. She began to suffer with headaches which she believed to be just like those suffered by both grandfather and father. The fear of insanity, unconfessed for two years, obsessed her—the more strongly because subconsciously it presented itself as a refuge from her difficulties in growing up and achieving womanhood.

A factor increasing both physical and mental difficulties, whatever its direct effect on the development of the psychosis may have been, was her infection with syphilis. How or when this occurred could not be definitely ascertained. The long and intimate psychoanalysis, during the later months of which the patient gave every appearance of perfect frankness and good faith, failed to disclose any sexual delinquency. The presence of the disease was not discovered until the outbreak of the psychosis in the summer of 1916, when the patient was twenty-one. The history was confused, as neither the patient nor her family had paid very close attention to sores about the face or on the genitals, although both had been present. While the marriage complex and the sexual fancies evident in the psychosis led one to suspect a sexual experience, and while the presence of syphilis is always strong ground for suspicion, it must be borne in mind that psychoses with sexual complexes at their base occur, and have been reported, in individuals with no actual sexual experience, and that syphilis is known to be contracted in innocent ways. In this case it appears that it must have been contracted before she was eighteen, and there is a possibility that the primary lesion was at the mouth. The skin about the mouth "hardened and peeled." The genitals also were sore, however. It is unfortunate that exact information as to the occasion of the infection cannot be obtained, but it need not prevent our dealing with the psychological effects of the disease. The patient knew nothing of its nature but was troubled by the condition of her skin and by the soreness in the perineal region. She felt that the latter meant something seriously wrong but did not suspect an infection. Rather she construed it as a part of her menstrual difficulty, and thus increased her feeling of inferiority and of unfitness for her womanly destiny. The preoccupation with these fears—of mental and physical disease, of marriage, and, conversely, of non-marriage—led to a loss of interest in her studies, a difficulty in keeping her attention

upon them, and a syndrome of psychogenic physical disturbances collectively termed "nervous breakdown," following which she left school, early in 1913, in her senior year. She was now eighteen.

The backward trend toward infantile dependence reached, in its furthest, subconscious development, to the desire for complete ease and rest from conflict represented by death. Death-longings, vague at first, were crystallized by an accident in the summer of 1915. The patient came near drowning, and, though much frightened at the time, the instinct of self-preservation asserting itself, afterward felt no longer the fear of death that had been almost an obsession during the time that her longing for such release had been barred from the daylight of consciousness. Death by water is particularly closely related to the unconscious longing for return to the mother, as Jung has explained in his *Psychology of the Unconscious*. The many fancies of the patient, during her psychosis, about water, and her swimming movements, were determined both by this actual occurrence with its affective accompaniment and by the unconscious, perhaps racially implanted, association pointed out by Jung.

She also conceived a desire to become a Quaker or a nun—another way of escaping the responsibilities of womanhood. This idea lasted far into her psychosis.

In September, 1915, she had a curettage, in order to relieve her sufferings at the menstrual period. The physician apparently did not discover her syphilitic infection. In December and January she suffered from eyestrain, due, she thought, to too much fancy-work, and dropped most of her occupations. This brought about a period of brooding in which she viewed her life, saw herself as a failure, blamed her parents, foresaw insanity, and desired more than ever to die. Aside from this immediate result of the temporary disuse of her eyesight, there was a subconscious relation to her central trouble, that of sexual inferiority, that may have been partly the cause of the breakdown at the point of vision, and almost certainly exaggerated the symptoms. This was her subconscious association of the eye with the sexual organs, and her infantile fixation of eye libido, by which she found much of her pleasure in visual sensations, particularly in colors. The eyes partook of the diseased condition affecting the other organs, and an exaggerated importance was assigned to the ailment. She feared blindness, half welcomed the prospect as a release from responsibility, and allowed the eye condition to interfere more with her activity than was necessary. In her psychosis, later, she fancied herself in a hospital for the blind,

and wove fancies about injuries to the eyes, as we shall see. At the time of the eye-trouble, the psychic result was an intensifying of the feeling of physical inadequacy, the core of which was a realization of sexual delinquency, for which she would punish herself by sacrificing her eyes.

She began to suffer from insomnia, explained by herself as due to bad thoughts. She meant the preoccupation with the sexual question, which pressed her for solution, bringing with it the regression of the affective life to the childhood level of perverse sexual satisfactions. There was some retardation in thinking, which caused the patient grave anxiety, but no loss of touch with her environment. She made an effort to gain independence from parental domination by demanding an allowance, and obtained her wishes, but unfortunately her remorse over the rebellion against her father counteracted beneficial effects. She could not escape his spiritual domination.

A further acute realization of her failure came in the spring of 1915 with the visit of a girl of her own age, from a distant part of the country, and her sister's graduation from school. She saw that these two girls, by very different routes, had attained successful womanhood, whereas she, with an equal chance, had remained a child, unable to assert herself, unable to claim any marked success in any important line, and, above all, in her mind, unable to take the first steps toward the goal of womanhood, which is marriage and maternity. Distinctly psychotic disturbances now made their appearance, for the first time. She asked her parents to kill her, as she could never be any good, she spent much energy upon useless work, and she suffered constantly from insomnia.

She overheard her parents discussing her on one occasion in a way that humiliated her beyond reason. One of them said, in a horrified undertone, "Suppose she should be joined with a —." She never could recall the word used, and probably misunderstood it, whatever it was, but she knew it referred to the possibility of her marriage with an unfit person. She felt as if her own parents were hereby classing her with girls of low character and casting her off, and she felt unspeakably degraded. The ambivalence of feeling, on the other hand, brought into play, by this incident, the already robust tendency toward the lower forms of sexual satisfaction, stimulating day dreams of a sensual nature, in which her father played a part. The incident completed the estrangement from both parents, which had been developing throughout her adolescence, compensated as it was by over-submissiveness to them.

A second curettage and dilatation of the cervix was tried in June, 1916, which was followed by the first definite formation of delusions, originating, probably, while the patient was under ether, though shaped by the fantasy tendencies just noted. She thought the operation was an assault, that the instrument used was a cross, and that its purpose was to cure her of masturbation. The seriousness of her mental condition was now recognized and she was taken to a sanatorium, where she failed to improve. She made three attempts at suicide, by swallowing glass, mercury and a needle. Taken home again, she was put under the treatment of a Christian Scientist, who, for the first time, dealt frankly with sexual matters and obtained a confession of masturbation. The religious and mystical element in the treatment served to aggravate the delusions, however. The patient fancied herself about to become a virgin mother, dressed herself all in white and waited, in the house of the practitioner, for the great event that was to make her the Savior of the Race. It was a final attempt, in the dream world, attempts in the world of reality having failed, to achieve emancipation from the infantile auto-erotic fixation of the libido by an expansion through her identification of herself with the race, at the same time saving herself from the sacrifice actually demanded by shutting out a human agency, substituting instead a miraculous impregnation. The delusion of pregnancy was fostered by the fact that her menses were suppressed during the summer.

Her inability to sleep caused her to wander out at night, in an attempt to find relief and diversion from her nervous tension. On one occasion her father brought her back by force, saying "I *will* conquer you." This crystallized her fear of him and brought to full consciousness a portion of the sexual complex centering about her father which had long been pressing nearer and nearer to the light of clear mental vision. Her recoil from this horrible thing involved her more deeply in fantasy and in poorly directed compensatory activities. The fact that he seized her by the arm became the focus of her fear of him, as it had its ambivalent pleasure-motive to her, as a female, of satisfaction in being physically overpowered. She developed an antipathy to being touched, which was also partly determined by the forcible administration of an enema.

Not realizing, at this time, as fully as she had in the early part of the year, the seriousness of her condition, she was planning to enter a school of art on the first of October. Her parents did not discourage this until the time for entrance arrived, when they told

her the plan was impossible. She felt that they treated her as a child, that she would have been reasonable had they dealt with her frankly, and that this sort of treatment placed her definitely, in the eyes of others, as an inferior person. The situation paralleled so closely the experiences of earlier adolescence, in which she had been made to feel her inferiority, and especially the occasion of the finding of her sister's diary with its humiliating result, that an explosive outburst, in which the jealousy of her sister appeared as the central motive, occurred. She talked of her sister's blue eyes, of her blue clothes, rummaged her bureau drawers to find materials from which to make her sister a party gown, and attempted to put in order all her possessions, as a symbolic reformation of her own character. She tore sheets and blankets, refused to wear shoes, and could be managed by no one except her sister.

Her menses had reappeared, after suppression during the summer, on October third. It was at this date that she experienced her humiliation with regard to entering the Art School. No immediate reaction was apparent, but ten days later, on October 13, the first maniacal symptoms, of incoherent speech and press of activity, were noted. Her subsequent excitements have much the same temporal relation to the menstrual period. In this excited state, on October 17, 1916, she was admitted to this hospital, after two days in a general hospital where she was unmanageable.

III

The excitement, during which she talked incoherently, showed flight of ideas, distractibility, shouted, made speeches, danced, refused to wear clothing, tore up sheets and blankets, and went through numerous meaningful motions of the limbs, lasted two weeks. It was followed by two weeks of comparative quiet, with little conduct disorder, and an emotional state of depression, the later not being severe enough to affect her conduct in ordinary matters. In this quiet interval she underwent the routine mental examination very creditably and was readily accessible. She was greatly interested in her environment and took keen note of everything, as she had during the excitement.

Her general physical condition was good. There was a slight yellowish vaginal discharge, negative for gonococci. The Wassermann reaction with blood serum was double plus, with cerebrospinal fluid negative. She has subsequently received salvarsan treatment, with latest Wassermann reaction plus minus.

For six months following her admission to the hospital an excitement occurred two weeks before the appearance of the menses, and subsided with the beginning of the menstrual flow. The excitement would begin with euphoria, a conviction that her problem was solved, and a great press of activity. She would write letters to all her friends, magazine articles, stories, poems and plays, or make water color sketches, sew and embroider, work at French translations, talk and laugh excitedly, but, for a day or two, show no conduct disorder. Repeated observation helped out by subsequent analysis established that in these first days she was in the mental state of her early adolescence. It seemed that she had gone back to the point where her difficulties first became pressing, and was trying again to find her way out by the roads that she had tried then, without satisfactory results. She dressed herself with care and neatness, but youthfully, preferring a middy blouse or a smock and a short skirt, and arranging her hair in moving-picture curls. In a day or two more, her dress became fantastic, she wore a flower over her left ear (see below), pinned and tied flowers, ribbons, and odds and ends over her dress, sometimes powdered her hair or filled it with soap, and refused to wear shoes. She ran, instead of walking, laughed very loudly, sang, sat upon the floor, collected useless scraps of cloth, paper, etc., played with them, and told of the wonderful uses to which she was going to put them. This appeared to be the childish stage of her regression.

After three or four days of this, her dress became untidy. She kept wet towels next to her body, was always washing her clothes, sometimes without removing them, and spent hours cleaning the bathroom and toilet, saying this was the place to begin. During her first two or three excitements, she sometimes struck the people around her in the back and overturned furniture, but later, when in the depressed intervals, she began to gain insight, she showed no anger reactions until a deeper stage of the excitement was reached. She would now begin to tear her clothing, destroy articles in the room with a view to making something else of them, resist the nurses, throw her dishes about, and be untidy in her habits. Another accompaniment of this stage was a mania for "interpretive dancing" which she liked especially to practice in the hydrotherapy room, whither she went twice daily for pack, shower and spray. While in this phase, which lasted a week or more, she was usually secluded in a room in which there was no furniture except her bed. She would wear no clothes, but liked to have some by her to put on

when doctors or nurses came in, for she never became indifferent to environment and was always ashamed to be found unclothed. She tore her blankets into strips and wove and tied them into the fantastic savage dress probably well known to all psychiatrists. She banged her bed against the door until her bedstead had to be removed. She tore the stuffing out of her mattress and slit her cotton pad, getting all the cylindrical cotton rolls out of it, and sometimes creeping inside the slit cover. She tore the colored stripes out of the blankets and used them for head bands. (For the significance of her actions see below.) She answered voices that at first seemed to be hallucinated, but afterwards it was found that they were actual sounds heard and misinterpreted. She noted the actions of those about her to the smallest detail, but seldom, unless taken by surprise, would vouchsafe any direct recognition of them. For example, she would say "Good morning" to the doctor, and would hurriedly put on a garment, then making no response to further remarks, would pursue her own line of talk, interrupting it with such comments as "She (the doctor) has brown shoes on. Now she's turning to the window, now to the door," and, taking up the doctor's words into her own stream. In a little while she would become silent, close her eyes, put her hands on her head and make movements with hands and head that were of a symbolic nature, and which she intended as a sign language to some one who would be able to understand. If her visitor stayed long she might become angry. When no one was in her room she could be heard making loud speeches, singing, and at times striking the wall with a towel or sheet or with her hands. This striking was intended for a signal to the people outside who were supposed to be working with her in a great international plot.

She was usually untidy in these excitements, and in two of them rubbed her excreta into the floor and into her body, as she also did her food, mixing them together.

The appearance of the menses regularly put an end to this hypermanic state. She became inactive, remained in bed for two or three days, had persecutory ideas and was inclined to be irritable with everyone about her. Traces of the fantasies that had swayed her for the past two weeks remained, but she was now the passive sufferer from the machinations of others. This paranoid state always lasted for two or three days and gave way to one of great weariness and depression, with an access of insight which became greater and clearer with each succeeding month, after analysis had begun.

During the depressed state, after the first two months, there was no conduct disorder and one would not have known from her speech or action that the fantasies still dwelt at the back of her mind. They formed the content of her night dreams, however, and so came to the knowledge of the psychoanalyst, while others thought her mentally clear, though sad, silent and often hysterical, weeping much, and giving an occasional involuntary wail, followed by a laugh. She recalled the extravagant behavior of the preceding weeks with shame and humiliation, but was despondent about ever getting any better. She took little interest in her former pursuits and cared only to work for others, mending for the ward, knitting for the Navy League, and helping other patients. She preferred to dress plainly in the hospital gingham or percale, and arranged her abundant curly hair in the simplest possible manner. The idea of being a nun or a Quaker, which took possession after her final realization that her efforts to adapt herself to society were failures thus manifested itself again after her new attempts, at successively lower levels, to assert her worth once more. The feeling of aloofness, of being outcast, worthless and, above all, of having lived her life and become old (at 21) permeated her being in these days.

At these times she took up psychoanalysis with hope, and clung to it for comfort, although she often retreated for a time, before a threatened painful disclosure. Toward January, or after her third excitement, the results of analysis began to show. The monthly cycle described in the foregoing continued to run its course but there was a sharper differentiation between the manic and the depressed states. Fantasy and reality were less confused together. There were considerable periods when she was free from fantasy, and after these fancies had again taken possession, they were for some time recognized as unreal. It was only in the days of seclusion, when there was little distraction from outside, that they became wholly real. It is true, however, that they were *more* real, in the few days they lasted, during the last three months of her psychosis, than they were during the first three, when fantasy and reality were intermixed in varying proportion throughout the monthly cycle. At that time it was like a game or play to her, in which she was at once actor and spectator.

The last excitement, which was the seventh, occurred in April, 1917, and was much milder in type than the others. It began similarly and ran through what I have called the adolescent and child-

hood stages, but very little into the archaic. She dressed herself in fantastic costumes, like a child dressing up, but never became untidy, noisy or destructive and never had to be secluded. This attack was much more like a typical manic excitement, except that there was little flight or incoherence, though much distractibility. She took a great interest in the people about her, made pencil sketches of them, took notes on the behavior of certain patients for her doctor, sewed and knitted at times, and was always pleasant and agreeable.

The excitement of March, just preceding this one, had been the severest of any, and upon emerging from it she told me that she knew she had struck bottom and could never go so far down again. Her prognosis proved correct. While the next month brought an excitement, it was of the mild type described above, and it was indeed the last. It cleared up in the usual way, giving place to the typical depression. Psychoanalysis now made great headway, and care was taken to provide the patient with helpful employment, such as gardening, Red Cross work, and out-of-door recreations. She soon became interested and steadily improved until August, 1917, when, ten months after her admission to the hospital, she was perfectly recovered and was able to take up an active life at home again. She has since entered college. Suicidal obsessions and general despondency oppressed her until June, but after that the normal cheerfulness that already was instilled into her external behavior by voluntary effort took possession of her inner life also and grew into the enthusiasm and zest in life suitable to her age.

The patient was able to coöperate in her own analysis to a very remarkable degree, practically making it herself, after her confidence was won, the part of the analyst being to stimulate the recovery of forgotten material by suggesting possible connections. The underlying ideation of the excited activities was brought up by free association with few suggestions from outside. The activities of the higher level, adolescence, necessarily were founded upon ideas persisting from the earlier stages of development, but found free expression in reactions typical of her adolescent years. Likewise, the other two stages recognized, with intermediate stages, are so classified with reference to the reaction type and to the degree of mental integration and complexity present. Though the stages overlap, the material can be most clearly presented by arranging it under the heads: Adolescent, Infantile and Archaic.

IV

ADOLESCENT ACTIVITIES

The "Clothes Problem."—The patient usually began her excitement by waking in the morning with a feeling of euphoria and the sense that she had made a long step in solving her problems. This announcement, together with her beaming expression and flushed cheek, came to be the signal of the approaching excitement. The problem which she first attacked and triumphantly solved was the "Clothes Problem." This had, in the course of nature, been one of the early and persistent interests of her adolescent high school days. Not only lack of money, but, presenting a more serious obstacle to her, her father's ideas about suitable clothes, had prevented her dressing in a manner equal to her mates. She had learned to sew, and often made herself pretty things, but at other times found this too taxing, and, to allay her discontent, forced herself to a superficial acquiescence in her father's views, and was simple, unconventional, and even careless in her dress, as her father himself was. This, like other phases of adolescent feeling, found its root in her infantile tendency to imitate and emulate her father in all possible ways. Now, at the opening of her excitement, she designed new costumes, ripped up old garments with the intention of making them over into new and astonishingly beautiful creations, and even designed and recommended ravishing toilettes for her favorite physicians and nurses. She planned for a prize contest in garment-making to be carried on through her father's magazine in which the garments were to be made by her design, to her measure, embroidered with her initials. The successful contestant was to receive a subscription to the magazine while the patient retained all the garments, thus happily furnishing her wardrobe at no expense! The new clothes were ostensibly her outfit for college, but the unexpressed purpose in her mind was to get a trousseau. The deeper relation of the "Clothes Problem" to the life problem is, of course, not to be passed over. In dreams and fantasies, as well as in speech, the clothes represent the man. And it is significant that she began with *underclothes*, "the place to begin" she said, and made the process of reclothing her body the symbol of a rehabilitation of her personality.

The Bridal Dress.—When the fantasy gained a little more headway, the patient began to adorn herself with flowers, with ribbons, with bright-hued silk stockings, her white slippers and her neatest

dressess. This was long afterward admitted to be for her expected bridal, though she never even indirectly alluded to this at the time. The prospective bridegroom was not always the same. After she had been at the hospital for a time, it became one of the physicians. She thought at first that her journey to the hospital was a wedding trip, then later construed the mystery that seemed to surround her as preparation for the great trip, but she spoke of it only as a "trip" and did not confess that she had in mind a wedding trip until after psychoanalysis had been carried on for some time. The statement was entirely spontaneous, however.

. *Games.*—In connection with her marriage fantasies comes a rather clever allusion to the problem in connection with baseball. Often closely following her attack on the Clothes Problem would come a great revival of her high-school interest in this game. She would recall the school matches and dilate with enthusiasm on the qualities of players and teams. She would begin to plan for a girls' team, of which she should be captain. She was to take second base because that "and *not* third base, as most people think, is really the hardest." Second base was marriage, third base death, in the great life diamond where birth, marriage and death are the landmarks between leaving and reaching again the Home Plate. A second meaning given was second as the female number, harder than the male.

While she was still in school her tense interest in the games, and her sufferings if her school lost, passed the bounds of the normal. The game was already a symbol of her own tragic struggle with the difficulty of managing her own sexual trends, and of reconciling her own innate desires and ambitions to the different ones imposed on her by her parents. In planning for her team, she determined to practice what the others *couldn't* do and above all to "sacrifice," which is a naïve way of escaping defeat. At school she enjoyed basketball but was never very successful, because she was awkward, in spite of her muscular strength.

Another high-school activity to which her interest returned simultaneously with the baseball preoccupation was the debate. She had been in a debating society and had been chosen to take part in a contest with a rival society. One of her hard times, physically, was the result of her overwork in preparation for this occasion. Her interest in debates originally sprang from her father-fixation, as he, in his capacity of editor, engaged in controversies. Also he encouraged and helped her in her own debates. The underlying motive

of her interest, however, was really the contest with her father himself. Her important debate was on Woman Suffrage, against which her father held decided opinions.

Pageants and Poems.—In all the activities of school days which now occupied her, the purpose was to go back to the starting point and win where she had lost before. One of the best creations of her fantasy belonging to the adolescent phase of the excitement was a literary composition which she called a *pageant*, though it was rather a mixture of operetta, fairy-pantomime and pageant. The scenes included woodland dells, waterfalls, nymphs and flowers, with herself as the heroine, a child of nature about which the whole action centered. She was awakened by the hero with a kiss, and there were dances and love lyrics of a most satisfactory nature. Only "graduates" were to take part and the president of the class must play the rôle of hero. (The president is a father-personality.) But on another occasion she "boycotted graduation." While this might, because of its frank egoism and its idealized fairyland setting, be called a creation of childhood, the love story in it, which was the principal part, much more closely resembled the day dream of the girl of fourteen. Withal it was a truly artistic creation, and furnished an outlet for the unsatisfied desires that proved serviceable. The patient's sister had often taken a prominent part in the school plays, as she danced and sang well, while the patient herself was awkward and self-conscious. Hence, in making herself the chief actress in a setting of idyllic beauty she outdid her sister, and lived her part in a most delightful romance besides.

Another way in which she expressed her problem in literary fashion was through the characters of King Arthur's Court. This idea had obsessed her for some time and appeared in her earlier stream of talk, in which she called herself Elaine the Lily Maid, and spoke of Arthur or "Ar-thermometer, a thing by which to measure or correct." But these two were used as a blind, the really important characters were not mentioned until the third month, after psychoanalysis had begun. She then wrote out a series of character studies in which Lancelot, "perfect comrade-brother-lover-husband," was her father, Lynnette, her sister, and she herself was Guinevere. Her mother was not included. The rôle of Guinevere was played in the deepest phase of the excitement, also, when she had quite descended to the archaic. She felt that she did not wish to be Guinevere at all, but that she was forced to play this part, really too complicated for her, to her father's Lancelot. Hence she

tried to pretend to be Elaine, while secretly despising that innocent and childish person, whom she considered incomplete and undeveloped. A stenogram taken when she talked to herself yet was aware of listeners showed her attitude toward her own situation as typified by the poem. "I'm Elaine, the Lily Maid, from the Idylls of the King. That is my favorite book next to the Bible. Maybe I like it better than the Bible. I believe every word in it. I want first aid, the quickest way, the dearest way, the way of love. Reality, a house of glass. Everyone can see. I'm innocent, not ignorant, and I do not want things said that a young girl should not hear. No, I don't know. A cat has nine tails. Please let all the married women leave the room. They are not pure. Innocent girls have been ridiculed long enough. People who do not know arithmetic should not attempt algebra, trigonometry or surveying. I am the radius of the circle, a Greek letter, always the unknown. Ignorance. Any way you want to construe it, ignorance or innocence. I don't want anything said before me that should not be said before an innocent young girl. Delta pi delta. I am the eternal triangle. Mary Magdalene, the eternal triangle, green, innocent." (For the sake of brevity I have omitted external associations that interrupted this.)

The complex centering about her unsatisfied sexual curiosity, which is usually resolved in childhood, here has been preserved into womanhood, while the sense of guilt it generates expresses itself in fancies about Mary Magdalene, prostitution wishes, etc. The triangle naturally represents the Electra complex. Of her color and number fantasies more will be said in another connection. She studied all the branches of mathematics she mentions, including surveying, which only two other girls of her class took up, as it is a boy's subject. The symbolism of mathematics for the patient is more fully taken up in the portion dealing with archaic activities.

One more of the activities of the adolescent phase is selected out of a great mass of them before passing on to the more infantile modes of reaction. This was her love of questioning those about her as to their tastes, propensities, preferences, etc. This was called "psychoanalyzing" by the patient, and, by the way, makes an interesting point in the study of the transference, being her way of beating her doctor at her own game, but its ultimate significance was the comparison of herself with others to see if, after all, she were so very far off the track. This belongs to the age of self-consciousness, which is not fully achieved until adolescence. Her intense desire, wakened most strongly when she entered the new en-

vironment of high school, to know how other families lived, may be recalled.

This activity has another side, illustrating the adolescent preparation for choosing a mate. The tendency is extended to her environment. She soon felt the impossibility, however, of getting away from the father-fixation sufficiently to choose, and sank, influenced by this among other inadequacies, to the lower level of childhood, where her fantasy about her father and her own sex life might have freer play.

INFANTILE FANTASIES

The Father Complex.—A story that haunted her when in the second stage of her excitements, and which returned in the dreams of the depressed periods, was Victor Hugo's "By Order of the King" ("L'homme qui Rit" in the original). This is a story of a man who was frightfully deformed when a child, by order of the king, who wished to take vengeance on his family. She identified herself with the victim, her father being the king who had compressed and deformed her spirit for the gratification of his wishes. (One would naturally suspect some form of sexual handling had taken place, as in the case of Frink's,¹⁴ but I failed to find any evidence of such.)

Another fancy, half delusion, half day dream, was that she was in the kaiser's palace, a prisoner. Her psychoanalyst (the writer) was to rescue her and adopt her. The kaiser is the father, the psychoanalyst a mother personality, but not her mother. In her depressed periods she sometimes dreamed of being captured by the kaiser, and tortured. The patient had no difficulty in seeing for herself the expression of the father-complex in these dreams. Other dreams and delusions, reproducing the bad dreams of early childhood, were of robbers and burglars creeping toward the house. For a long time she could not bear to look at the cartoons of the kaiser, as they touched so near the heart-breaking conflict over her father. The identification of her father with the kaiser brings an elaborate international drama which she worked out as a grandiose epitome of her situation. In this, however, Russia, as the country before the present war conceived as exemplifying absolutism in government, became the paternal representative, while Germany represented the maternal side because her mother was of German descent. She also

¹⁴ Frink, H. N.: A Psychoanalytic Study of a Case of Compulsion Neurosis, *PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 1917.

found her way out of her difficulties in the usual childish way of imagining herself a royal infant, stolen by her supposed parents. She was then a princess of Alsace-Lorraine—the country of combined Teutonic and French nationalities—and was to become president of that land, and end the war. So, she would rule over both father and mother. Her father was not of French descent but he loved France and she thought him, as well as herself, French in his characteristics. France was the favored country always, in her numerous international fabrications, but one source of the fascination of France was the identification with an athlete, hero of her later childhood, whose first name was Francis, and about whom she wove many fancies in her period of awakening sexuality. He represents the heterosexual trend at its best.

She divided her room into different countries, giving to France the space by the window "where the beautiful light came from," and assigning the right-hand upper corner to Russia. Here her bed was placed by the nurses; she often moved it because her bed ought not to be in Russia (father's room). Or again she fancied it concealed by a curtain, and so all right. A corner was sometimes given to Holland, identified with the mother, whose name was Wilhelmina. America had a corner but was not of much importance, as it did not belong to the family. Japan represented the cruelty of women to women in underhand ways and was sister or mother interchangeably. The study of the determination of these national symbolisms would make a thesis in itself. I can only just mention them briefly here as an example of the way in which her great conflict and dominating complex expanded to take in the whole world, of which she, naturally, was the center.

In a dream, the father once played the combined rôles of stage manager and villain, comparable to her conception of the kaiser, and more outspoken. Again she had a conscious fantasy of her father committing a crime, of the nature of Harry Thaw's, and of another man taking his place. A second fantasy that endeavored at once to conceal and reveal her repressed wish for her father was her marrying him to his own half-sister, for whom she was named. She had been jealous of her father's devotion to this sister, *on her mother's account*, had also thought this aunt more like her than her mother was. To give the father to a relative in this way was a defiance of the incest tabu, while yet she dared not boldly put herself in the place she coveted.

In the first manic attack, while still at home, she stole her

mother's wedding ring. At first she explained this as motivated by the desire to prove to herself that her parents were really married, but after a further analysis she gave a truer explanation—that she wished to oust her mother and claim the place for herself.

Later in the psychosis came a distressing dream that she and her mother were somehow duplicating each other. One of the little family jokes had been a playful fiction that the father and the two children were the A—— family and that the mother had married into it. After reaching puberty the patient became very remorseful over this, and over the affectionate ridicule with which they sometimes treated the quaint, gentle, patient little mother. It was one of the things that made her feel that her family was different from others. This overweighting of a slight matter was, naturally, a compensation for her secret enmity against her mother, and her desire to supplant her. The latter desire was again strikingly expressed in the delusion, cherished in the early months of the psychosis, that she was pregnant, and had already borne two children who were identified with the two babies her mother lost in infancy.

Very late in the psychosis, when all the symptoms of mania had disappeared, and only a slight depression remained, she dreamed that her *real* mother had come to her, taken hold of her and said "Now we are going to straighten things out." This "real" dream mother was not her actual mother, nor anyone known to her, but by this time she was solving her complex and coming to a more comfortable understanding with her parents.

Not always did the fancies and actions centering about the fixation upon her father have an unpleasant tinge. She imitated him in many things, becoming, in the infantile stage of her monthly excitement, an editor like him, tearing up papers for clippings and offering all those around her positions on his staff. She declared that she did everything in a man's way, that she did not care how she looked (cf. adolescent "Clothes Problem"), and that her purpose in life was to help her father run his paper. She dressed herself as a Russian peasant, which country she had, as we have seen, assigned to her father. One manifest origin of this was the circumstance of the family being often taken for Russian but never for American, when they travelled abroad. Just before Christmas she dressed herself as a doll, giving herself in fancy to the two hospital physicians that she liked best, placing them in the parent rôle, and half imagining that she was to be born as a human child at Christmas. This is reaching into the archaic, but lies among the childish

fancies too. We must recall the childhood reaction to dolls and the adolescent reaction to babies for the full significance of this.

Closely related to the father-complex is the attachment to the grandfather, a parent with whom there is less of conflict than with the father. Attachment to the paternal grandfather in the patient's case was strong, and equally strong, later, was her fear that she might become insane like him. When behaving childishly in her psychosis, she used to tear a piece from a gray blanket so as to form a shawl which she fastened about her shoulders. This turned out to be the reproduction of a tender memory of her grandfather. Once when the patient was three years old her grandfather had allowed her to choose what she wanted in a shop, and she chose a little gray shawl. She prized this gift highly, as it was the last he gave her before he became ill. It typified all his protecting kindness and indulgence then and later, when her sorrow and bewilderment in her troubles made her turn back to the protecting care received from one who was always indulgent—a grandparent. Comparison with MacCurdy's patient who was impregnable if wrapped in flannel, the garb of infancy, representing also the life within the mother, might not be out of place, but this analysis was not made with the patient.

Infantile Curiosity.—Closely related to the father-complex, but not necessarily integral with it, is the curiosity a child feels about life processes and the mysteries of adults. A fancy that ran through several excited periods in this case was that of being a spy in the enemy's country. The country was usually Germany (parent's country) while the patient belonged to France (heterosexual life). Spies are spied upon, and so the nurses and doctors were considered spies. A joke often dwelt upon with laughter but never explained was that "Children let out all the secrets." In revenge, she had secrets of her own. She talked much of how she was "beating people at their own game." Her family were spies upon her, common folk, while she was royal. She dwelt much upon a fairy tale read in childhood, of the maid who misled the king, leading him down a stairway and out through the wrong passages, while the lord whom he was pursuing escaped. This story would furnish material for an elaborate analysis, both in itself and in its relation to our patient, who incorporated it in her fantasy. Aware now, in her psychosis, of her inability to attain full womanhood, she has come back to one of the first poignant realizations of childish inferiority, and in her retreat backward she adopts her first crude effort to compensate for

the inferiority. She resorts to concealment as a defense for her weakness in coping with an adult world.

Narcissism.—The infantile trait of narcissism was shown both in its primary form, of dressing-up, exposing the body, and constantly combing the hair, and in the secondary form of conceit and grandiosity. She reverted in memory to frolics in the water with a playmate, to times when the usual conventional restraints were thrown off, as in camp life or when girls spent the night with each other. She declared that bathing suits were the ideal costume, tucked her skirts up short, took off her shoes, was willfully careless of exposing herself, yet not to the point of positive indecency when on the ward. She gave away her clothes to her fellow patients, feeling that she no longer wanted such artificial coverings. The great pleasure taken in posing and in dancing was one of her most striking exhibitions of the narcissistic fixation. This was practiced most often in the hydrotherapy rooms, where her costume could be arranged from sheets and towels for the desired effect. Much speech-making and singing was reminiscent of childish plays at being grown-up, in which she of course took an exalted place, as that of president or queen. She fancied, when making patriotic declamations alone in her room, that there were applauding throngs outside. This is akin to the exhibitionist dreams common to all, where "many people" present stands for the desire to exhibit the person to the whole world, and thus to obtain power over the whole world.

Auto-erotic manifestations belong, because of the primitive nature of their symbolic expression, to the archaic stratum, which I propose to treat separately, but some few outcroppings are on the more conscious level that corresponds to the infantile stage of mental development. Her great interest in cleaning the bathroom during the infantile stage of her excitement, for example, took the place of the actual play with her excreta practiced when the psychosis dropped to a lower level. The interest in excreta was at this point censured by social consciousness, the interest and the self-condemnation for that interest find a common expression, therefore, in industriously scrubbing up the place devoted to the uses of the toilet. She said that this was the place to begin cleaning, recognizing the fundamental and primal nature of the instinct with which she battled. The preoccupation with the perverse sense-pleasure of the anal region expressed itself also as a fear, once experienced in childhood, that she would be attacked from behind, or "struck in the back." In the earlier excitements she struck others in the back, with the idea, again, of beating them at their own game.

A strongly affective complex of fear and wish fantasy centered about her feet. The foot is recognized, by all who have gone much into the analysis of dreams, as a substitute symbol for the male genital organ. The young child, whether male or female, does not usually know its own sex before four years of age (see Binet) and the girl may fancy herself like her father as readily as the boy fancies his mother like himself. Her foot became to the patient a particularly sacred object, which no one must touch. She would not keep her shoes on, but could not bear to have anyone else touch the shoes, feeling that if they did so they encroached upon her sacred person. The slipper is recognized as the symbol of the female genital as the foot is of the male. Her discarding of the shoes may thus be taken as an act symbolic of an infantile rejection of the female rôle, while her jealousy of them shows, in addition to her unwillingness to be encroached upon or interfered with by outsiders, an unwillingness to relinquish the sexual rôle which really was hers. Two childhood experiences had contributed to fix the foot as a symbol in this case. She had, when six or seven years old, run a nail into her foot and had been carried home by one of her father's employees. The fright and pain, followed by the pleasure of being taken up and carried, had made this one of the type experiences to which she attached in future years both experiences of like affective content, and dreams. In her room at the hospital there was a nail in the floor that fascinated her. She was afraid of it, afraid of hurting herself upon it, yet afraid to have it taken out. She felt sure that it was put there for a purpose, that it had an important message for her. She could hardly feel that it was accidental. Its meaning was the meaning that had come to invest the accident occurring in childhood, a meaning that typified a whole sexual experience, the intrust of the nail in the foot, pleasurable and painful in *retrospection* at once as an assault might be, followed by the surrender of the self to a stronger hand involved in the act of being carried home. This memory arose when the male physician occasionally entered her room on his rounds. She would throw herself backward, in complete surrender.

The other experience in childhood centering an affective reaction upon shoes and feet was an ungratified longing for white shoes, which all the other children were wearing and which her parents denied her. She spent a great deal of thought upon devising a way to make some white shoes of a piece of white satin that her mother possessed. This ungratified wish, like others, trivial in themselves,

came to be the type of other ungratified desires, and here is still another determinant of her jealousy of having her shoes touched. The white shoes were naturally associated with a wedding, the prospect of which was not to be relinquished. She revenged herself upon others, however, in the same manner as in the reaction of striking people in the back. She "beat them at their own game" once more, by attempting to pull their feet from under them, imagining the while that she was playing football. This has another determinant as we shall see later.

At times she refused to walk at all, forcing the nurses to carry her. This was the concrete expression of her transference of the ban upon the use of the sex organs to their symbol, the feet. It was not, as in cases of hysteria, loss of the power to use the feet, due to a subconscious suggestion, but a deliberate refusal to use them, because to use them was wrong. In a division of the personality so complete as that occurring in severe psychoses the formerly subconscious has risen to the surface as the conscious, so that the hysterical subterfuge is unnecessary.

She professed perfect confidence now in her ability to do anything she liked, while at the same time her feeling of insufficiency asserted itself in certain compensatory ideas and activities. She entertained the idea, for example, that the taller people were, the better they were, and she disliked the nurses who were short. Dwarfs were villains and giants were gods. The international drama entered again into this stage, as in helping Alsace-Lorraine (which represents herself) she is "helping a country that hadn't had a chance." She had never had, as no one ever has, all the opportunity for self-expression, and for imposing her will on others, that she desired, that is, "she had never had a chance." In this stage of her psychosis she was very dictatorial, managing everyone around her, getting jobs for them and planning their amusements, and making numerous elaborately worked out suggestions for the reform of the hospital regime. In the same manner she worked out new plans for her father's business, which she was going to take over.

Marriage and Maternity.—Soon after giving away her clothes, she distributed, in her last three monthly excitements, her old beaux to the other patients, because she no longer needed these, just as she no longer wanted the clothes. None of them, not even "Francis," could satisfy her now. Her husband to be was an ideal, god-like, father-like, not yet encountered, but sure to come, and for him she prepared. The nearest approach to her ideal, an approach so near

that she allowed him to represent the ideal for the time being, though aware that he was a proxy, was the one male physician that she encountered. She made it a working hypothesis, so to speak, that she was married to him, an hypothesis that it would be most comfortable for all concerned to assume, but still not an actual fact. The real marriage was to be to the god-like father of early infancy, an image lost to her in the disillusion of growing up. The proxy was not God—though she was much struck by the fact that another patient considered him thus, but he was the next thing to God; he was an angel. Sometimes he came nearer to earth and was only the president. His voice impressed her as being the most wonderful she had ever heard, the voice being the symbol of the power vested in great rulers—such as a father's. His every word carried weight and had a profound influence upon her thought, as if they were indeed the oracles of God. Just such weight had her father's words carried until the adolescent struggle for emancipation began.

A third instance of her mania for giving away things, which always cropped up in the middle of her infantile stage and always sprang in part from the common impulse of bestowing on others the things she had no more use for, was her wrapping various odds and ends into "surprise packages" and giving or sending them to her favorite doctors. The unconscious thought, brought to light by the free-association method, in giving the surprise package, was that something very precious was concealed in the wrappings, and this precious thing was the great secret of new life—a child. She took the position that she did not really wish to give birth to children (the obsessing wish of the preliminary stages of her psychosis) but that she could easily do so if she did wish it. She bestowed her gifts graciously but casually, and with an undercurrent of amusement, as if she would say: "Take the precious thing if you want it. It is nothing to me." It is exactly the attitude of a child playing at omnipotence. She is beating her mother at her own game with a vengeance, and asserting her power over life as a whole. The act of giving the packages was accompanied by the hilarious amusement of one perpetrating a huge joke. She recognized the symbolism of her act and its inadequacy, while yet its fitness as an expression of her will to subdue life to her uses was a sufficient stimulus to its performance. Jest in dreams comes to mind as expressing the exultation one feels at getting by the censor with the forbidden thought. Here she jests with the greatest secret of all and proves to herself that she is its master. This activity is at a transitional level between

the infantile sort of thought and activity and that confused symbolism, that intermingling of the animate and the inanimate, that identifying of the self with the external world that marks the lowest stage of the evolution of the psyche, which we call the archaic. Finding the desires expressed at the infantile level still incapable of adequate satisfaction, the patient slipped rapidly, each month, into the third stage, with a less clearly defined interval than that marking off the adolescent stratum from the infantile.

ARCHAIC FORMATIONS

When, in the course of the psychotic attempts at adaptation to an unfriendly world, the successive failures reduce the personality to the archaic level of reaction, distinctly differing trends of fixation of the libido drop out, leaving an almost undifferentiated, chaotic mass of auto-erotic wishes and attempts at satisfactions. It is a stage in which there is confused identification of the psyche not only with the parents but with the external world. Here the most bizarre symbolism comes into play, taken from the animal, the plant, and the inorganic spheres. Here there is no longer, as a rule, any attempt to adapt to the realities of environment, as there always is in the fantasy-stages of early and later childhood. The patient was not abstracted from her environment but still fantastic delusions held complete sway over her consciousness, distorting the objects about her, to which she was keenly alive. Her attitude toward the obsessing fantasies was not one of passive surrender, however, as it so often is in the præcox. The sense of the discord between the demands of reality, to which her self-respect subscribed, and the fantasies to which her most primitive and hitherto repressed wishes led her, continued to incite a painful conflict, exhibited by either a hilarious or an angry mood, and by a consciousness of mental suffering that pervaded even the most pleasurable fancies at times. She contemplated the unrestrained productions of her libidinous imagination with horror even while she enjoyed them. This horror and remorse, mingled with fear of their obsessive power, was necessarily an element of her depression in the semi-lucid intervals that followed the excitements.

The obsession by a story once read of a mummy that came to life and committed a murder haunted the deepest phase of each excitement, serving as a parable of the auto-erotic libido that rightfully belonged to a life passed by and done with but which now rose up to slay her. It is of the same order as the clutching skeleton

hand occurring in the nightmares of many neurotics, which represents the repressed auto-erotic desire, and the "Alp Traum" treated by Ernest Jones.¹⁵ The mummy is a dead, atrophied thing, horrible in its suggestion of death in life, and no more striking symbol than this can be imagined of the resurrection of buried instincts which the growing psyche has condemned. From her window the patient could see a tree in which she fancied the mummy hid himself. Jung has shown us the significance of the tree as a mother symbol, and a ramifying affective complex about trees analyzed very clearly, in this patient, into regressive wishes toward life within the mother. In imagination she reconstructed her room to suit her needs and toward the lower left half of it she always placed a tree, in which she was to sleep. The juxtaposition of the tree and the mummy is a striking evidence of the identical character of the primitive mother-fixation and the narcissistic fixation, as pointed out by Trigant Burrow. Sleeping in the tree symbolized a return to the mother-life.

A second well-known mother-symbol, or symbol of the prenatal, intrauterine life, is, in some connections, water, and water played a great part in the fancies of the patient. A chimney in her room focused her fancy. She thrust her feet up it as far as they would go, remaining in this position for minutes at a time. She sometimes put her excreta in it. It was to be her avenue of escape, even though she knew it was too narrow to admit her body. She always expected water to come down it to relieve her thirst. The water in this case is a double symbol, as many objects, in this primitive stage of development, are double. It is also a male symbol, a symbol of fertility and of the life-giving germ. In support of the masculine significance of the symbol is the fact that the patient felt that no one but the male physician fully understood her great thirst. The things which she gave him credit for understanding seem to have been invariably connected with masculine or father-fixations, while she trusted in her woman physicians for understanding of her mother and narcissistic trends. The significance of water as a mother symbol was more widely distributed through her fantasy and activity, as we might expect from its primal character. She ruminated much about evolution, thinking that she had come through water; she went through the motions of swimming while lying in bed; she greatly enjoyed her hydro-treatment, consciously seeing in the pack a dramatization of birth, and making a game of wriggling out of her

¹⁵ Der Alptraum, *Freud's Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde*, 14, 1912.

sheets, when the nurse was not watching, to prove that she could manage her emergence into the world without the nurse's (mother's) assistance. She placed wet towels next her body, under her clothing, "for hydrotherapy" when she could not be in the water. One of the stories—a prime favorite of her childhood—that occupied her was that of the little mermaid who sacrificed her tail and obtained feet that she might marry the prince. This story is carrying over into the later upward strivings toward womanhood, but it holds the elements of her entire conflict within its meaning. In the seclusion of her room she acted the part of the mermaid.

At times she imagined herself at the center of the earth, which again represents the intrauterine life, where the child is indeed in the center of its world. Or else she had flown to one of the planets, Uranus usually, which was to be a world only for women. She was a pioneer, to show other women the way to this hitherto unpeopled world. She could see herself seated upon the planet like Watts's painting of Hope. She chose Uranus because it is the planet that is almost invisible. Neptune is entirely invisible, while the others of our solar system are visible. In this fantasy she excludes all but women, that is, all but her mother and herself, and these two are one. The near-invisibility of Uranus signified obtaining the almost impossible. Other fancies connected with this regression were that she was in the Black Hole of Calcutta, that she was in a cave or a prison. She slept usually, during this period, in the fetal position. She tore open her bed pad, extracted the rolls of cotton, and crept inside it, completely enclosing herself within it. At the beginning of the archaic stage of her excitement, going over from the infantile, she, on two occasions, sewed pockets into her clothes, turning up folds to accomplish this. She had set out to mend the seams she had ripped and could not resist the impulse to make pockets.

In the imagined rearrangement of her room, before mentioned, there was a place near the tree which she called the "Cat's grave," and on which she laid pieces of her father's paper, after tearing them in four. For the explanation of this we must go back to an affective memory of an incident of her childhood. Someone dropped a flat iron on her cat, breaking its back. The sight of the injured animal, and its death, was horrible to her, but held the fascination that such things do for children. It was, perhaps, the first distinct contact with pain and death. It became another of those type incidents about which later experiences of like affective content were

associated. Dr. Jelliffe¹⁶ has elucidated for us the significance of animals to the child, and to the adult as well, through their association with primitive man. For this girl the animal became the symbol of her own untamed libido, its death, therefore, the symbol of the sacrifice which she must make, and its grave an altar. On this altar she laid a thing which stood for her father—his product, the paper which he edited—first tearing it into four pieces to symbolize her rebirth by union with her father, since four is the number of spirituality. "The Lady or the Tiger" was one of the growing list of stories read and recurring to memory now as dramatizing her struggle. Fascinated by the idea, she pictured herself choosing the beast.

A step higher than the animal symbolisms enters the negro-complex, found in so many psychoses. The backward trend, the drag back into the mire of unbridled animal desire, was symbolized by a representative of a lower race. She laughed over the fancy that the people about her were negroes disguised as white, but shuddered with the fear that she had negro blood—the lower taint, and even imagined that her father was really a *colored woman*. A patient suffering from a comparatively benign psychosis dreamed, at a time of great stress, that she was approached, while walking in an open field, by a negro woman who threatened and then pursued her, with a switch. The dream took an unaccountable hold upon her fancy so that she tried to bring it back, waking, in order to finish it. Analysis showed that the negro woman represented her father, as the switch, the threat and the pursuit indicate an identification of father and patient similar to, or identical with, the mother-identification. In the same connection men were thought by the patient to be disguised as women impersonating the nurses. One of these she called "Elizabeth Electricity," thinking that she had both male and female characters.

A poetic fancy and one original with this patient, so far as I know, was that of "Burbanking" to produce a blue rose, by grafting a rose upon an oak. The oak represents the parent, the rose herself, while the blue rose is the bisexual superself she would like to be. This brings us to the elaborate color symbolism worked out by the patient, an entirely spontaneous production which motivates many of her most disordered actions, and of which she gave a spontaneous interpretation toward the close of the analysis. Colors

¹⁶ Jelliffe, S. E., and Brink, Louise: The Rôle of Animals in the Unconscious, *PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, 1917.

were real and vital to her scheme of life, and while they were applied in many ways to typify her sexual struggle, perhaps it will suffice to give their working out in connection with the colored blankets, which, it will be remembered, she tore into strips and wove into garments. Gray blankets with blue stripes in them were feminine and bad. The blue could never be made right so long as it remained alone, so the blue stripes must be torn out and mingled with other colors. She said, at first, that she was afraid of these blankets, then corrected herself with the statement that she was not afraid but felt that she was very brave indeed not to be afraid of them. The brown and red blankets were masculine, and the red stripe must be torn out and bound around her head to complete her costume. It was the crown of her womanhood. This, altogether, was the Guinevere and Lancelot costume. The blue was Guinevere and the red Lancelot.

The blanket symbols also had a determinant from the masturbation complex, through her conviction that they were alive. When she was in a violent state the nurses sometimes threw the blankets into her room. To her disordered fancy, they jumped at her like tarantulas; tarantulas, spiders and scorpions all played a part in her dreams as masturbation symbols. The four colors were woven together to neutralize the evil blue which never could be right alone. She was not satisfied unless she had a blanket of each color, always putting the blue striped one next to her body, as the female-mother-blanket must necessarily be nearest her, but feeling very incompletely and even indecently covered if she did not have the red striped one also. She felt that it was inconceivably cruel of the attendant to give her only the blue striped blanket, forcing her to the crime of consorting only with her own sex. She sat up all night, industriously tearing up the blankets, though ready to drop with weariness and groaning over the severe task. This was after they had been worn one above the other as described. A closer union became necessary and so she intermingled them by weaving. She thinks now that the rags were always taken away from her before she had fully completed the costume she was trying to make. Gray, itself, freed of the blue, was a neutral color, imagined to be flesh color, hence, herself, produced of the union of male and female. Draped in the gray she was invisible, as she was also when dressed in black and white, which are negations of color. She made a ring of the gray and put it on the third finger of her right hand. This was an invisible wedding ring of flesh color and symbolized her

union with both parents. It may be recalled that at the onset of her psychosis, she stole her mother's wedding ring. Best of all she loved the soft white blankets sometimes given her when she was growing quiet. These were innocent baby blankets, pure of sexual significance, representing the time of her own life when she knew not good and evil. She never tore these. The main individual source of her unpleasant association with blue was the fact that it was her sister's color. Her sister had blue eyes, while hers were hazel. Her sister wore blue, and was popular, hence both condemned and envied. Her sister had been the chief object of her childish affections and was afterward hated.

This complex of color, making blue the a-social, homosexual symbol, supports the researches of Smith Ely Jelliffe along this line, and shows also, by its various connections, how intimate is the relation between homosexuality, auto-eroticism and the love of the mother's body, in girls as well as in boys. For the color complex, working through other objects, was nevertheless nowhere so completely worked and understood by the patient, nowhere so efficient as an impulse to action of an arduous nature, as it was when presented to her in the blankets, which, by their function and fabric, typified the protection and warmth accorded to infancy by the mother. And we need not forget the little gray shawl—torn now from a blanket—the gift of a grandfather.

A waking dream of the patient which involves her identification of herself with her mother was that she was acting the part of Joan of Arc. The selection of this personage is determined in many ways, both superficial and fundamental. Joan is a combination of her own and her sister's names. She would have liked "Jo" to be a brother instead of a sister. Anne, her own name, was the name of the mother of "Mary," who is the great mother of all. This means that she becomes the mother of her mother, like MacCurdy's patient. By the identification process she then becomes the Virgin Mother, the Savior of the Race, the Mother of the World, the Mother of France, which, we must remember, was her ideal country, typifying the goal of her womanhood. Madame De Farge, the fury in Dickens's story of the French Revolution, "A Tale of Two Cities," was identified with a patient near her, as the wicked mother, representing the other side of the complex, just as the condemnation of the blue striped blankets represented it.

The symbolism of numbers, fascinating to psychoanalysts, receives also a striking contribution from this patient. It may be

remembered that she was much interested in mathematics, including mathematical terms in her stream of talk, and once informing her doctor that she was "psychoanalyzing religion by mathematics." As it is not possible here to go into the many branches of this subject, I shall occupy myself only with the core of it, which is the significance of the number six. A superficial determinant of this number is that it was the real number of her family, including the two dead infants, whereas the ostensible number 4, which she condemned as uninteresting, included only the surviving members. She desired to have six children. The first explanation of her preference for six as the perfect number was that it was the combination, both by adding and multiplying, of the first three prime numbers, 1, 2 and 3, and herein lies the key to its meaning. A pessimist, she said, would say that *three* was the perfect number. *Three* is the masculine number, representing the male genitalia, *two* the feminine, representing the female genitalia, and these two, combined in one, unite, bringing in also the symbol of their union—one—to form the perfect six. Again, from another angle, *one* is the masculine, coming *first*, and *two* the feminine, coming *second*. The patient expressed the wish to be *second* in a series of six, declaring that she would not be either first or third. An additional meaning given to this arrangement of numbers was that it stood for the family. Second place was the wife's place, while succeeding places were children. She wished to be the wife and mother.

Apropos, again, of her mother conflict, she fancied that she was a Lorelei and a submarine in one, that was to sink German ships, Germany being her mother's country. Her action in grabbing the feet of the nurses and trying to throw them down was partly instigated by this fancy. She planned to invent a combination submarine-aëroplane-cinematograph, which would carry out all her desires for self-expansion and sexual activity.

At no point in the delusional framework of a deep psychosis do we get a richer production of primitive ideas and mythology than in the acts and ideas dealing with the symbolization of impregnation. Commonest among these are the ideas dealing with food and eating, as Frazer's "Golden Bough" will readily bring to mind. Our patient had many such fancies, although of course she had long since consciously given up the alimentary theory held in childhood. Having no other clear idea, and having descended to the uncritical, symbolical, picturizing level of thinking, she reverted to this theory as a basis for her fantasies of impregnation. Eggs were eaten with the

idea that she would have thereby a child. Glass, mercury and a needle were swallowed, with the expressed intention of committing suicide, but with an unconscious idea that they would have the same effect. She imagined, afterward, that the mercury came out at her eye, the eye being associated, substitutively, with the genital organs. She had great fear that her eyes would be injured, talked of how this was the only fatal injury, as broken limbs could be mended, and thought sometimes that this was an hospital for the blind. It may be recalled that a few months before the onset of the psychosis, she complained of eye strain and gave up all work for which close eye sight was required. Here we have the castration complex with the added primitive idea that that which the ego cannot or will not see does not exist.

Among food symbols, there were particular kinds of foods for which she expressed a constant preference and which were explained by her in the course of analysis. Brick ice cream, with chocolate, vanilla nut, and lemon ice layers was a favorite. It represented, first, something done that couldn't be undone. This was her own wrong sexual development. The chocolate meant negro blood; *i. e.*, the father-mother-self complex, as explained. The vanilla, stuck full of nuts, was impregnation. This was the middle layer. The top layer was lemon ice, which was pure heaven, associated with the Alps, rarified air, the perfect happiness following union. Pies of various varieties were indulged in, with a somewhat similar analysis of preference. The dark mince, like the chocolate, was negro blood. She was sure it was poisoned but ate it none the less.

In her attempts at decorative dressing, she invariably placed a flower over her left ear. The idea of impregnation by the ear has played its part in religious myth and is analyzed also in Jones's "Hamlet." That it should be the *left* side is significant, for the left is recognized by the patient as representing the *wrong* road. She sometimes held her left hand with her right for minutes at a time, as an intended means of keeping from wrongdoing. The flower was usually a carnation, if she could get it. Its strong odor and its shape, as well as its long life, gave it a peculiarly sexual significance. Impregnation by the ear involves also her recognition of power in voices, or auditory impressions.

It may be remembered that in the first development of her out-spoken psychosis, she imagined her operation—dilatation and curettage—to have been an assault, picturing the instrument as a cross. Its purpose was conceived to be to cure her of masturbation, hence

the assault was in the nature of martyrdom, since it meant a supreme sacrifice of her self-indulgent habits. This fancy recurred in the later attacks. The window-frame threw a cruciform shadow on the floor of her room. On this cross she lay, as a martyr, playing a combination rôle of Joan of Arc and Christ. She was saving the race—by expansion, herself—by sacrificing herself. The cross as a phallic symbol is too well established to need discussion here.

Machines of various sorts were dreaded, more than human beings—as having power to influence or hurt her. These too are well known masculine sex-symbols. Her greatest fear, she confided at one time, was of being run over by an engine.

These fantasy-formations, related in the course of analysis, during which the patient was convalescing, were accompanied by a great deal of activity, only fully intelligible in the light of the underlying fantasies. The movements of the patient were all of them attempts at acting out the fancies that possessed her, in the same free and unrepressed way that children act out their fairy-tales. She seldom sank into a passive state, was, on the contrary, in a press of activity, though when visitors entered she might stand or sit silent and go through motions suggestive of a sign language. The dramatized fantasies gave vent to the deep-lying, repressed wishes and wish-conflicts of the patient, in the realm of her psycho-sexual life. Her desire for complete heterosexuality, her struggle with homosexuality, her incestuous trend toward her father, her infantile identification with her mother, her auto-erotic network of wishes and denial of wishes, are expressed in varying forms, and all are woven together. To find satisfaction for her soul hunger, to find a scope of activity where she need not feel inferior or pressed upon or circumscribed, to find a medium of contact with life by which she may keep her supremacy, these are the basis and the inspiration of the fantastic thoughts and activities of the succeeding phases of the psychosis. The connection of these with the menstrual period suggests that there was a sharpening of the conflict with the exacerbation of sexual feelings upon the approach of menstruation. The temptation to masturbation was always greatest just preceding the menstrual period. The case is unusually well defined as exemplifying the psycho-sexual monthly cycle. Failure to find adequate satisfaction for the desires which increased in intensity seems a very possible reason for the gradual drop to a distinctly lower level of mental integration. This drop was seen not only in the loss of correct adaptation to surroundings, as shown by behavior, but also in the char-

acter of the fancies in possession of the mind, as I have tried to show in my division of the subject. When, with establishment of menstruation, relief for the sexual tension was partially obtained, the intense effort to find expression and attainment ceased, and the patient subsided into an irritable, somewhat querulous mood, like that of a disappointed child. This gave way to humility, ideas of unworthiness, and penitence, characteristic of depressive states, as she came back into touch with reality. As these states were steps toward recovery, it is not surprising that her recovery finally was built up out of a prolonged depression which had no slightest recurrence of the more serious manic phase.

V

After analysis, and accompanying analysis, came the difficult work of reconstruction of the personality, with the object of substituting wholesome thought-habits and adequate adaptations for the old faulty habits and arrested upward trends. Analysis of the patient's dreams here played a great part, not only in bringing up the half-understood material in the psychotic productions, but also in pointing out the course which the reconstruction was to take and marking the milestones of progress. The dream is not merely the expression of a repressed wish, it is also the statement of a problem, and often the forecast of a solution. Dream analysis was taken up in the depressed intervals between the manic attacks, with marked results, which showed most clearly when the depressed phase again returned. The complexes resolved were, in order, the sister-complex, the father-complex, the mother-complex, and the Narcissus-complex. This temporal order corresponds exactly to the order of development, taking the latest first, and going down to the earliest, most fundamental. The sister-complex was solved by making conscious the feeling of jealousy, followed, at first, by considerable compensatory sentiment about the sister but ending in a just appreciation of her, with the resolve to cease competition and to win equality along lines of activity different from her sister's. She definitely conceded to her sister her rightful superiority along certain lines, but held her own in others. A necessary but transient phase of the solving of this conflict was the exalting of her sister to a mother's place. She drew a picture of *one* of the *six* windows in her cathedral, showing her sister as the consoling mother, with the patient resting her head upon the sister's lap, while on either side, on a lower level, were represented father and mother, the father

typifying selfishness and greed, the mother, indolence and ignorance. Under the patient's form was written "Crazy? Yes—and Why?" The parents were the answer to this, with their selfishness, ignorance and indolence. The cathedral was her ideal home, the six windows meant her number of complete happiness, and her sister, the ideal woman, which she could not reach. An analysis of this, taken with a dream of similar import, brought a sane adjustment of her attitude toward her sister, with a change also in the homosexual character of her dreams.

Bearing on the father-complex came dreams of the kaiser-type, one involving cannibalism and one of a savage island, peopled by a bestial race, into the royal family of which she was to be forced to marry. The analyses of these, and of her waking fantasies, revealed to her fully the true nature of her attitude toward her father, spontaneously resolving the sexual conflict connected with it, and leaving her with a greater degree of emancipation from her father's influence, and the normal attitude of a grown-up daughter.

Dreams of a homosexual character, and of re-birth followed. With the analyses of these, adjustment to the mother was accomplished. Then came the long and difficult task of unwrapping the libido from its windings about the self. The tactful introduction of new interests, the stimulation of ambition through talks on her plans for the future, through reading of biographies, and through reestablishment of communication with home and friends were called to the aid of analysis here. The struggle was severe, the difficulty of giving up the lifelong pleasurable preoccupation with herself being equalled by the shame of her realization, which led her to feel that she could never be worth while and that death was still her only solution. An obsession that her death would fittingly come by *hanging* gives an indication of the persistent infantile subjectivity, since hanging symbolizes a perversion of the return to intrauterine life and also the auto-erotic trend. In the analyses of these trends, an effort was made to bring before the patient adequate conceptions of the best sexual life of a woman and to present a constructive and altruistic philosophy of life. Her sense of responsibility as a young woman to the race developed with her growing hope of recovery as the freeing of the libido from the lower object advanced.

A dream of particular interest dramatized the final stages of this phase of reconstruction, utilizing fantasy material of her whole psychosis and expressing her conclusion as to the place of her sex-instinct. She dreamed that she was brushing her hair (hair being

one of her chief secondary fixation points) and that a long piece came down. Some one exclaimed "Oh, it is a snake head." She looked, saw that it was a snake, pulled it off, and threw it down, without any emotion. As it lay upon the floor it became a very small creature, neither animal nor man, but rather a sort of black mannequin. This creature began to moan and cry and then to sing in a plaintive way about the oppression of its race, the refrain being "When shall I be free?" She thought how surprising it was that such beautiful poetry and music should be produced by that ugly little animal. The little animal represents her libido with its conflict, starting with the sexual symbols of her hair and the snake. After this dream the reconstruction went on rapidly, as the sexual problem was really solved, and about all that remained to do was the overcoming of external factors that hindered the establishment of complete rapport with a normal environment. This has been done and the patient has been quite well for four months.

VI

Here we have a psychosis which analysis shows to have been a series of constructive efforts at asserting the worth of the personality and overcoming, or else avoiding, the obstacles in the way of a satisfactory self-expression and the establishment of useful and necessary connections with society. Failure to find avenues of expression consistent with the demands of society and satisfying to the demands of the ego, inability to make the progressive adaptations required of the adolescent, through too firm a fixation on the earlier objects of affective interest, a tendency to over-anxiousness for perfection of conduct and disproportionate shame at blunders which greatly decreased the ability to meet new situations, working cumulatively through years, brought the individual at last to the point where desperate efforts to live with her environment were less and less consistent with the demands of the realities of the situation. At last they passed the bounds of the normal; that is, they served no recognized useful purpose, although they expressed the trends of the personality as truly as normal activity expresses it.

Beginning with a defective heredity, a probable weakness of the female organs, liability to infections of various sorts, and, as seems likely in view of the patient's inability to master some finer coordinations in spite of good muscular development, a defect in motor control, we have the basis for the development of an inferior personality. These defects were well-compensated by a bright mind

and a lively and attractive character, which carried the patient pretty successfully through childhood. Isolation, adult companionship, spoiling and petting, however, fostered a strong egoism, while faulty hygiene developed auto-erotic tendencies. Serious difficulties occurred at adolescence, partly from physical causes, but largely from ignorance of sexual things. The sense of inferiority became a mastering obsession, sharpened to a distressing degree by the constant rivalry of her more fortunate sister. Timidity resulting from this mental attitude made easy social adaptation impossible, while the centering of affections upon the home circle, and particularly upon the father, further jeopardized the wider social relations necessary to full development. The first indication of a breakdown—the gastric disturbance—occurred after the humiliation of reading the derogatory remarks in her sister's diary. This rebuff bound her sexual interest more firmly to the childhood objects. The second breakdown, of a neurasthenic character, when she gave up her studies because no longer equal to them, followed her love affair with a younger boy and her infection with syphilis. The third, of a depressive nature, really continuous with the second, but more outspoken, followed events that brought her failure home to her anew. Delusions developed with the operation that stirred up the severe sexual conflict involving father-fixation, fear of marriage and masturbation. A disappointment in which she was made to feel her childish helplessness in the hands of others preceded the definite manic attack. These events are milestones in the life history that led to a breakdown of a poorly integrated personality.

Time after time her normal affective reactions were suppressed by conditions of the family life, and an abnormal, partial, or infantile type of reaction substituted for the normal. The fundamental difficulty was in sexual development. When the patient perceived this, as she did, without understanding the cause, she found the problem thus created in view of the tabu of society so distressing that the situation was intolerable. A two-fold retreat became necessary; first, a retreat from the real into the fantastic world; and, second, a compensating activity in fields where there was hope of succeeding. It is this *activity*, this persistent endeavor to meet and control the environment, albeit under conditions dictated by the patient, that imparts to her psychotic conduct its distinctly manic character as opposed to the *præcox*. She did not give up her connection with her real environment, but reacted to it in a manner reproductive of the adaptive forms of her immaturity, which did not

accord with the demands made by society upon the adult. This sort of retreat showed regular stages in a striking manner, the meaning of which cannot escape us. With each flight into active efforts at control of her external surroundings came a relief of the tension which she experienced in her endeavor to reach up to a situation to which she had not grown, with a consequent intense euphoria. The basal conflicts, concerning marriage, father, masturbation, fought to gain satisfactory solution in these activities. They attained a partial consciousness, could not be reconciled with the highest social trends of the personality, created a new tension, which was relieved by a further descent to a level of cultural development where the demands were less complex, where the individual was less subservient to social laws (as in childhood), and so on until the lowest level consistent with conscious life was reached. The patient never relapsed into inactivity for any length of time.

The psychomotor activity, schemes, inventions, etc., were a defense against her sense of failure, keeping her mind filled with a gratifying sense of achievement. They were also a compensation for the humiliating feeling that she was a passive instrument, a feeling due more to her homosexual trend—never fully matured—and its concomitant father-fixation, than to the actual circumstances of her life. In her excited periods she showed eager attempts at heterosexual relations, writing letters to all her former male friends, declaring her love to one or two, and planning her marriage. Defense and compensation thus appear to be the motives for the psychotic behavior in general, while the nature of her several activities is very clearly seen to relate to her fundamental complexes arising from those conflicts of feeling which made normal adjustment to the progressively greater demands of mental growth an impossibility. As each of these arose anew as a stumbling block in her path of self-assertion, the point in her life where the painful conflict was initiated was reverted to and lived over.

The determination of the *form* which the psychosis—or maladjustment to environment—assumed seems to resolve into a question of personality.¹⁷ In this case there is a childhood history corresponding very closely to the type of histories found for the *præcox* group and also for the psychoneuroses. That is, there is a failure in psychosexual development, fostered by environmental conditions inimical to free social development. The personality, however, is not of the *præcox* type. The patient is an emotional, sensitive,

¹⁷ Jelliffe and White, *Diseases of the Nervous System*, p. 749.

energetic girl, responsive to her environment and particularly responsive to persons. She was never seclusive, although her social relations were seldom—or for long—satisfactory to herself. She reacts to the rebuffs of fate by an energetic effort at achievement of some sort, though her efforts are not wisely directed. She halts for a time on the verge of true introversion but avoids it by a flight into a stream of activity at a level where obstacles are not, for the time being, insurmountable. Gradually the plane of action falls to the archaic level so characteristic of the *præcox*, but it does not remain there. Continuous effort at assertion of her individual worth brings about at first partial, and finally, with the aid of analysis, which brought the whole conflict and its causes to consciousness, complete rehabilitation.

The conclusion suggested is that cases of the manic-depressive type of reaction may have the same complex of causes, the core of which is failure at successive points of psychosexual development, that is found to underly the *præcox* group and the hysterics. That a serious functional mental disorder must have such a background of failure to react in useful ways, that it is the result of a series of vicious conditioned reflexes, is a theory finding support in most of the psychoanalytic work of recent years. The fact that the manic-depressive patient has been able, in his normal periods, to exercise a greater amount of repression over the destructive conflicts and to keep his touch with reality, has in most cases veiled the true history of his development. Given the fundamental conflicts, the atypical archaic manifestations are possible, as MacCurdy has shown. A close analysis of the actions of other manics might show the presence of archaic notions, where they are less on the surface than in this patient.

That every functional psychosis is a regression to a less well organized and complex stage of development—namely, to a somewhat infantile stage, where the repressions of conventional life are partly laid aside—while it is at the same time a constructive effort at achievement of the ends of the ego, an effort at self-expression of an adequate sort, is our most useful conception of functional mental disease. The case here under discussion makes possible the application of this conception in detail to the manic-depressive type. The conclusion follows that a life history of a certain sort and delusions of a certain sort do not determine the case as benign or deteriorating; rather, it is the capacity on the part of the individual to maintain an active effort toward domination of a hindering en-

vironment while keeping in consciousness and relating to these activities the general nature of the difficulty. Such a capacity in the individual does not permit of the mental sagging down perceived in the true introversion type, and tends to bring about, by successive efforts, a final successful adjustment. This may occur spontaneously, with the certainty that new difficulties will bring new deadlocks, with the flight into defensive abnormal activity. If it occurs with the insight lent by a thorough analysis there is a chance that the old vicious habits of adaptation may be broken up and adequate methods of meeting problems established. The manic-depressive psychosis, then, as we know it, may develop out of the same sort of general psychic situation as the *præcox*, and the underlying fantasy controlling its activities may be of as primitive a nature as those underlying the profounder disturbance of the *præcox*. The difference, as well as we can ascertain it, lies in the attainment by the individual of a more robust character, making for a type of reaction less vicious in its effects, and less incongruous with the world of reality, than that of the so-called deteriorating psychosis.

REACTION TO PERSONAL NAMES¹

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It has been pointed out by Abraham² that the name a person bears is often a determining factor in influencing definite psychic reactions, such as scorn, pride or shame, upon the person himself. Such a tendency is exemplified by the remark of one of my youthful patients, in a profound depression, "My name is Chrystal and I should be pure"—a comment which, by the way, revealed the gist of his depression.

In the course of other analyses of patients complaining of various neurotic symptoms, there has been a striking frequency with which patients have referred to their attitude toward their Christian names or in some way altered their surnames. Where the reaction has had any intense force, the vital influence has depended *not* so much upon the force of the name on the person, as Abraham states, *but upon innate feelings which the patient believes* is in some way mirrored in his name, to or against his advantage.

Silberer has aptly compared the name of a person to his shadow. Although it accompanies him throughout life and is inseparable from him, when impassively examined, there is nothing in the name which is an integral part of himself. At times it is possible by traveling under an incognito for the person to escape from his name. The assumed name temporarily conceals him as night does a shadow. But a person can never quite escape from his real name and the incognito becomes comparable to the shadow, which inevitably disappears in the light of the morning sun.

Unquestionably many names (such as Theodore and Woodrow in America or Victoria in England) are bestowed upon children with the more or less conscious hope that the person may, in the future, emulate or surpass the qualities attributed by the donor to the child's namesake. The name represents an omen that coming events may cast their shadows before. Thus the bearer of the name from association begins to identify himself with his namesake and

¹ Manuscript received March 18, 1917.—[Ed.]

² Abraham, *Zentralblatt für Psycho-analyse*, Vol. II, p. 133.

assumes to a greater or less extent the qualities with which the name is invested.

Many of the fanciful girls' names undoubtedly reflect the longing of a mother to identify the future of her offspring with the romantic qualities of some heroine of fiction—qualities and experiences perhaps desired by the mother herself but entirely lacking in her prosaic existence. Often such names form an amusingly incongruous combination with a surname which we have come to identify with the commonplace.

It is striking, here in America, how with the change of conventional ideals, the type of given names has varied from generation to generation. The Biblical names of Puritan days appear to have yielded to more euphonious ones of aristocratic British or French origin and these in turn have more recently given way to the simpler, "strong," short names.

One of my youthful patients expressed a violent repugnance for his rather fastidious name, Leroy, which was yoked to a common name of German origin, let us say, Meyer. Leroy considered his name so effeminate ("sissified") that he blushed whenever he mentioned it. Probably to most persons Leroy carries no such connotation. Leroy, however, had himself remained a "spoilt baby," for all his nineteen years, and I interpreted his antipathy to the weakness which he considered connected with his name to be a protest against a quality which he felt to be very strong in himself and revealed by his name.

In the matter of the surname the bearer is more likely to identify it with characteristics attributed to his ancestors. When an individual attaches a feeling of disdain or shame to such a name, he usually bases it upon a sense of inferiority existing more or less consciously in himself. Thus, an Italian patient, a professional man, ashamed of the general social position of his countrymen in America, altered his Dippucci to de Pucci, to lend it a French (aristocratic) air; a Jewish patient abbreviated his Linkenstein to Link; a third, Christian, American born, upon reaching maturity, abandoned his noble German name of von Landsschaffshausen for a typically English name, the maiden name of his mother.³

³ It has repeatedly occurred to me that the generally favorable attitude of Americans towards the Allies in the present European conflict is in some measure influenced by an unconscious desire on their part to identify themselves with the gentility and chivalry of the French and the aristocratic reserve of the English rather than with the vulgarity, awkwardness and grossness which is so universally associated with the Germans. That there

A curious contrast in his attitude to his given and his surname is furnished by a Greek patient, who was analyzed because of a compulsive idea. Although he had been christened with the sonorous name of Aristarchos (Panthos), he now responds to the non-committal name of Harry, which was bestowed upon him by his first American employer, who found Aristarchos far too cumbersome for daily use. While the patient heartily dislikes Harry and also his Greek surname, he is particularly partial to Aristarchos, which he wishes it were feasible for him to resume, notwithstanding its conspicuously foreign sound.

The reaction to each name is here again determined by the personal longings of the bearer and evidently not vice versa. His dislike to his surname may be superficially assigned, in part to its Grecian sound, which identifies him with what he considers an inferior race (all Greeks in America are peddlers, boot blacks, etc.), and in part to his violent antipathy to his father, a man some thirty-five years older than the patient's mother.

On the other hand, his pride in Aristarchos, which is certainly even more distinctly Greek than Panthos, seems inexplicable if his aversion to Greek identification be accepted. If we revert for a moment to elementary Greek, we find that Aristarchos signifies the "best leader" (aristos=the best; archos=the ruler) or perhaps more colloquially, the chief or boss.

The patient's pride in his Christian name began early—probably when his rivalry and hatred of his father, now undisguised, was still in its most rudimentary stages. He recalls the flush of pride which he experienced even as a little boy, when in calling him to return home from his play, his father would sing out, "Oh, Aristarchos." Possibly his thrill came from being called the "chief" by his father (his master) but in addition the patient has always been a strong exhibitionist, with tendencies to usurp the most prominent rôle whenever opportunity offers. In other words his name indicates what it is his deepest wish to really be, namely the chief, and this tendency is so strong that it overwhelms his aversions to its objectionable foreign sound, which partially accounted for his dislike to his father's name of Panthos. This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that the significance of leadership embodied in Aristarchos must remain a fact of almost exclusively personal knowledge,

is a certain conscious tendency in this direction is evidenced in innumerable ways: certain fashionable shops pay larger salaries to salespeople speaking with an "English" accent. Wanamaker advertises his dressmaking establishment "au quatrieme," etc.

whereas Aristarchos itself, here in America, in the class among whom he associates (clerks), certainly would be open to ridicule.

The patient's fondness for Aristarchos in antithesis to his dislike for Panthos is a reflection of the typical father rival complex. As the patient's love for his youthful mother (35 years younger than his father) has assumed a frank conscious sexual aspect, it is quite natural that he should hate the man who possesses her and the name which he (and she) bears (Panthos). Aristarchos, on the other hand, designates him in his father's rôle, the chief (the head of the house), thus satisfying his desire to overcome his father, even though this be so shallow a substitute as in name only.

Reactions of this kind are individual, dependent upon attempts on the part of the patient to counteract, in a feeble way, inherent feelings of weakness. Very unusual names like Paderewski or perfectly humble ones, like Andrew Jackson, create no pronounced comment on the part of the public because of the high achievements attained by their bearers, though if the former name belonged to a clothing peddler and the latter to a negro barber, they might form the basis for a considerable reaction on the part of either the individual or the public.

The instances just cited all represent fairly obvious interpretations of reactions. In the analysis of the following case, where the repugnance reverts to infantile echolalia which represents one of the earliest forms of rhythmic muscle and mucous membrane erotism, there is unfolded a far more elemental basis than in the examples above or those reported by Abraham or Stekel.

Robert "Braun," a patient under analysis for a psycho-neurosis, could "never stand" his Christian name. It appears that the origin of his antagonism may be traced to the period when he acquired the first rudiments of sound expression. Under the tutelage of his aunt, who was intrusted with his care in babyhood, among the first things he was taught to babble was naturally enough his own name, Bob-bee (Bobbie).

In this connection it must be emphasized that Robert was the first born and for seven years the only child in the family, that is, the baby, and hence most important member of the little household.⁴ So, in common with most other babies, one of the other sounds early acquired was bay-bee (baby). Inasmuch as Bob-bee and bay-bee were one and the same, it may be inferred he would repeat in the automatic, childish way, without distinction of meaning, in an alternating series: Bob-bee, bay-bee; Bob-bee, bay-bee.

⁴ The analysis of many symptoms of this case was published in the New York Medical Journal, July 22, 1916.

Before long another appellation as a designation for Robert crept into the family parlance, namely a combination of the initial letters of his first and last names—B.B. (instead of Bobbie Braun.) Thus presently the echolalia incorporated these three pet names, now assuming the serial form: Bob-bee, bay-bee, bee-bee (B.B., *i. e.*, Bobbie Braun.)

As is so often the case in German families here in America where much of the tradition of German customs pervades the family life, the environment of Robert's home and nursery conformed to German ideals in language and spirit. Hence it is quite natural that among the terms in his early language acquisition should have been another phonetically similar and frequently used dissyllabic nursery expression, namely, bo-bo, a South German corruption for po-po, which is a common German term for the posterior parts or buttocks. Accordingly, with this amplification of his echolalia, the sounds produced by the little boy, then about four years old, assumed this form: Bob-bee (Bobbie), Bay-bee (Baby), Bee-bee (B.B.), Bo-bo (Behind).

A further determinant also has its source in euphemisms of the nursery. While urination was designated by the commonly employed sound combination of pee-pee, defecation was indicated by the syllables bay-bay. Bay-bay is the sound of the second letter of the German alphabet reduplicated, in other words nothing less than B.B. in German. Thus B.B. in German has for this boy a decidedly unsavory connotation.

Robert, as an only and carefully guarded child, was alone a great part of the time. Naturally he found much opportunity to babble to himself in playing his games and to indulge in the pastime of repeating rhythmic sounds with that satisfaction which echolalia in itself unquestionably yields to young children. We may think of him, a solitary little figure, swinging to and fro in a rocking chair, repeating over and over to himself, the formula in its final shape. Such actually is the picture which the patient draws of himself, for he has a distinct recollection of having spent hours by himself, even up to the age of eight, repeating over and over the echolalic rhythmic scale, which, though occasionally varied in order of the sounds, ran thus: Bob-bee, Bay-bee or Bee-bee, Bay-bay, Bo-bo.

The close affiliation of bay-bay and bo-bo, both phonetically and functionally, naturally soon became apparent to the child—bay-bay came from bo-bo. It was not a far step to identify through sound association, bob-bee (Bobbie) with bo-bo, and also bay-bee (Baby, *i. e.*, Robert) with bay-bay. When we recall that B.B. (German

bay-bay) was another of his names, it is comprehensible how with these auxiliary sound associations, his name became invested with all the disagreeable attributes of bay-bay and bo-bo.

While it is impossible here to recount the numerous details, it may be stated that Robert's anal-erotic (Bo-bo) activities, which included elaborate ceremonials of the rhythmic type and compulsive acts in connection with defecation, comprised the strongest element in his adolescent sexual life. In later years he unsuccessfully attempted to alter and suppress his sexual activities in the toilet (still in connection with bo-bo and bay-bay). His failure found a compensatory substitution expressed openly in his aversion to his name, connoting to him the activities associated with bo-bo and bay-bay. To restate my contention, it was far more desirable for Robert to express distaste for his name than to overcome the habits which his name connoted—far more feasible from a social point of view, to be ashamed of his name than his habits.

Pronounced aversions of this kind are almost never singly determined and in this instance we find an important secondary influence. When Robert was only five years old, his aunt, who acted as his mentor, detected a certain underhandedness in his actions, such as stealth in taking things, a tendency to conceal or deny the truth, etc. She often reproached him with this. Subsequently on his repetition of little sneaky acts, she would tauntingly refer to him as Bobbitzky, which term implied that he was not straightforward ("itzky" is a common termination of Polish Jewish names and this expression undoubtedly originated with the aunt in the prevalent idea among Germans that Polish Jews are especially untrustworthy). Realizing the implications of the suffix, Robert resented the odious Bobbitzky and it may be assumed, Bobby, from which it was derived.

Robert's sexual life (bo-bo activities) until manhood consisted of constant clandestine indulgences while to his family he maintained the semblance of chastity. In other words he persisted in being Bobbitzky (stealthy) with his bo-bo. Thus, I believe he came to hate Robert as reminiscent of both stealthiness and sexual practices, very vital problems, which he was arduously seeking to conquer.

It furthermore seems quite likely that these associations have been the unconscious determining factors in the patient's invariable habit of using only his first initial, R., in his signature (R. Braun) instead of writing his full name as is customary with persons having no middle name.

TRANSLATION

A STUDY OF THE MENTAL LIFE OF THE CHILD

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PART I. THE PERIOD OF INFANCY (THE SUCKLING)

I. THE FUNCTIONS OF THE SENSES IN THE SERVICE OF THE AFFECTIVE LIFE OF THE INFANT

The *mental life* of the *infant* begins with the reaction to sensations induced by stimulations from without, as well as by those coming from within the body, from the internal bodily organs; and manifestations, on his part, of pleasure and of pain (or pleasantness and unpleasantness) soon occur which enable the adult to recognize that for the child certain occurrences within his environment are already becoming experiences.

Turning the eyes to the sun-lit window, starting at a sudden sound, feeling with lips and hands in seeking for the mother's breast which gives him nourishment—these acts, in spite of their partly automatic, partly instinctive character, are the first signs that the newborn child is taking notice of the surrounding world. In the apperception of these impressions (Eindrücke) by the infant there lies the germ (Keim) of the psychical process. To blinking at a dazzling light, screaming immediately succeeds. Hearing the tinkling of the bells on his sledge induces at once an expression of surprise—one of the most primitive feelings of infancy. A distressed wrinkling of the skin of the face follows scratching the

finger-nail upon glass. As soon as the first smile illumines the baby's face the mother loses no opportunity for calling forth on the features of her darling those sunbeams of joy, provoking them by means of all the little tendernesses and coaxing tones to which no normal child remains insensible through the first few months of life. Indeed, even the baby to whom falls but little loving care crows very early, contented on his pillow, when sunlight and wind trace a moving shadow-picture on the coverlet of his bed. Untiringly his eye follows the continual change of figures, and the rhythmic movements of the curtain-fringes in carriage or basket offer the little human being the first incentive to seize some object.

Of all the sensations characteristic of the first period of life there is none that has such great importance for the affective side of it as *do muscular sensations*. They become an inexhaustible source of pleasure and pain to the infant a few weeks, even a few days, old. "The first feelings of pleasure," writes Compayré,¹ "spring from the systematic (progressive), moderate exercise of the sense-organs, and from the satisfaction of the bodily needs.

Merely to exercise the muscles, whether it be those of the eye or of the arms and legs—even in and for itself—causes the child pleasure,—pleasure of a sort that he was prepared for in advance by his experiences within the mother's uterus, through the movements of his own body, as well as through the mechanical effects of external pressure exerted during the walking and other movements of the mother.

There is a better basis than simple superstition for the popular belief that those children are of especially erotic nature whose mothers during pregnancy have continued sexual intercourse until near delivery. In short there is reason to believe that it is not alone through the direct transmission of mental qualities that a strongly marked sexuality can be established in the infant; it may be induced also through purely physical influences resulting from the shakings of the mother's uterus, a source of stimulation in which a variety of muscle and skin sensations take their rise that have a certain effect long before the infant has reached complete maturity. This physically conditioned, heightened capacity for sexual feelings is observable, as well in boys as girls; while, as is well known, the psychic transmission is a crossed one as a rule. If this assumption proves to be correct, then skin and muscle erotism must be regarded as the most primitive form of sexual feeling.

¹ Compayré, *Die Entwicklung der Kindesseele*, p. 133.

Infants certainly take much pleasure in these skin and muscle sensations, as is evident from the fact that even in the very first days children often show a strong desire to scratch. The Scupins² report in regard to their little son, that on the very first day he scratched his own face, and on the second day gave his grandmother painful scratches as she bent over him tenderly, and his little fingers struck in with claw-like firmness. In the third month the boy was tearing and scratching his own little hands; in the eighth, it brought him great delight to tousele his father's beard. And the latest form of diversion into which, according to his parents' statement, he threw himself with passionate zeal, was making a grasping movement toward their eyes.

Whatever is practiced passionately always has an erotic undertone; and, as a matter of fact, the infant who finds a source of pleasure in strong muscular activity always exhibits outward signs of emotion, such as increased brilliancy of the eyes, flushed cheeks, and so forth, that are well known to the adult as indications of sexual excitement. Scratching with the fingernails is one of the first acts for which the infant uses his newfound strength, and this tendency, after having been abandoned in the first years of life under the influence of training, often appears again spontaneously as an accompaniment of the sexual act, a time when, in many ways, and in both normal and abnormal (perverse) conditions of sexual excitement, the pleasure-accented indulgences of earliest childhood come to life again. It follows from this reasoning that over and above all the manifestations of personal choice, especially as shown in efforts at avoiding annoying compulsion and restraint, the child must have experienced, in his earliest dealings with the sex-passion, feelings similar to those which make their appearance in the mature person under analogous conditions. The long-lasting influence of the sucking-habit upon sexual development is clear proof of this. It is in the indulgence of this habit, especially in the form of thumb-sucking, that infants find such passionate delight.³ Children given to the sucking-habit sometimes cultivate kissing,⁴ later, as a form of passionate enjoyment, and they may become heavy smokers; also, with baby girls in particular, there develops later a great fondness

² E. u. G. Scupin, *Bubis erste Kindheit, Tagebuch über die seel. Entwicklung eines Kindes*, I, p. 8 und p. 27.

³ To describe it the word "*Wonnesaugen*" has been used, a term indicating a state of bliss induced by sucking thumbs, fingers, etc. [Trans.]

⁴ Freud, *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*. Trans. No. 7, *Nerv. and Ment. Dis. Monograph Series*.

for nibbling sweets, a habit which dies out, or at least largely falls off, when normal sexual intercourse is taken up. It is a striking fact that in almost all languages a relation is recognized between sweetmeats and kissing, as is shown in the giving to the former of special names, such as: "Busserl," "baiser," "baciucchio" (a dainty common in the vicinity of Milan).⁵

To consider that this habit of pleasure-sucking, whether with reference to his own body or to foreign objects, counts only as a manifestation of an instinct to satisfy the sense of hunger—as so many investigators do—seems not to cover the ground. Also the argument that children immediately stop sucking when full-fed is overbalanced by the fact that even the satiated child⁶ sometimes sucks for hours on the rubber nipple and other contrivances of ingenious nurses, with contented expression of face, and begins to scream and cry the moment the "pacifier" (Schnuller) slips away from him. He is just as well satisfied if he can carry fingers or toes to his lips, although the feeling of hunger is not stilled thereby. It is through the activity of the erogenous zones—such as lips, fingers, toes—that the infant procures himself pleasure; and since in sucking upon his own body the child not only makes himself independent of the outside world, but also secures a reinforced stimulus of two-fold origin, his pleasure becomes redoubled. It is for this reason that children with these sucking tendencies cling so tenaciously to their habit.

Preyer⁷ has recorded the observation that by putting his finger into the mouth of a child whose head had just left the mother's womb, and rubbing the tongue rhythmically, he could excite unmistakable sucking-movements. In this so strongly developed sensitiveness to touch, the first beginnings of the sex-impulse may be assumed to find expression. In speaking of this experiment Preyer says that the child, to judge from the expression of his face, was most agreeably affected. This observation finds confirmation in the common use of a never-failing means of quieting the infant. Nursemaids know very well how their charge stops his apparently causeless crying if they stick a finger in his mouth and in that way

⁵ In English we have "molasses kisses," etc. [Trans.]

⁶ "At first we did not allow the boy to adopt the bad habit of sucking a 'pacifier'—instead of doing that, he was fond of sucking his fingers; indeed, he stuck his whole fist in his mouth, even after he had just been drinking (10th week)." Scupin, *Tagebuch*, I, p. 8.

⁷ Preyer, *Die Seele des Kindes*, IV Aufl., pp. 20 u. 65. Eng. trans., "The Mind of the Child."—[Ed.]

excite the nerves of lips and palate by tickling. This is simply a variation of a practice in vogue among unscrupulous nurses, who tickle the child directly on the genitals in order to keep him quiet or to put him to sleep. The Freudian School sees in this habit of finger-sucking (Ludeln) a very early manifestation of the sex-impulse, with reference to which the lips form an erotically marked zone. In the case of my own nephew I have observed repeatedly that as a result of sucking throughout the night his fingers carry, in the morning, the specific odor of the feminine genitals. Several mothers have reported to me analogous observations. This odor must come from the prolonged action (during several hours) of saliva upon the skin of the finger. It seems as if a pleasure derived from a sense of smell was included, in his case, in the pleasure produced by sucking. In fact, in his fourth year, when the attempt was made to keep him from this habit by calling attention to the bad odor of his finger, my nephew replied: "Oh, I like that smell!" Possibly this liking arises from memories of odors associated with the intra-uterine state. This conjecture stands in apparent contradiction to the view of many investigators who deny the infant an olfactory sense during the first days. The greater probability, I think, is in favor of the view that the child has no opportunity during those first days to experience, in its own form, this odor for which he shows such liking, but that something like it is produced, perhaps, by the admixture of saliva, milk, and skin odors. It is reasonable to suspect that the strong significance of the sense of smell in the sexual life of many persons is not to be referred solely to intense anal-erotism in childhood, but also in part to the habit of sucking. In favor of this suspicion the special liking of a great many persons for the Capryl group of chemical substances⁸ should be mentioned, since these compounds are chemically related to the secretions of the genital, but not directly to those of the anal zone. For such people the "Capryl group" constitutes a distinct and powerful stimulus of their libido. The frequent habit of very little children of pressing the face into the lap, or into the arm-pit, of an adult seems to be connected with this liking. The same sort of fondness is shown by young dogs and cats, and is not to be explained by the pleasant feeling of warmth, alone; for, in order to press the head into a person's arm-pit, the little animals often sacrifice a comfortable for an uncomfortable position.

⁸ Capryl group (Kaprylgruppe): Capryl, the radical C_8H_{17} occurring in caprylic acid and other compounds. Caprylic acid ($C_8H_{16}O_2$), a fatty acid with a faint, disagreeable odor, occurring in cow's butter and in cocoanut oil.

Even to the child in the cradle sucking offers an acceptable substitute for almost any pleasure which he desires but which he must renounce. Sucking is a dispenser of comfort in every despondent mood, just as in later years the joys of onanism are frequently sought in times of bitterness and humiliation. In his eighth month Scupin's Bubi used to compensate himself for not being allowed the mother's breast, by sucking the thumb of his left hand, though he continued to emit sounds of dissatisfaction through his nose; until at last, comforted, he would fall asleep. He would not let himself be robbed of this pleasure, and showed anger and opposition as soon as anyone tried to remove his thumb, red and swollen from sucking⁹ (ninth month). For the tenth month the report reads: "*Sucking the finger has finally taken the place of crying*, and is, therefore, a sign of hunger as well as of resignation. Now when an object is denied the child, when he should go to sleep, or the like, to comfort himself he sticks his finger into his mouth, and only peculiar sounds sent out through the nose declare his dissatisfaction, his indignation, his pain, in a way not to be misunderstood." And from the eleventh month, "Everything forbidden excites the youngster extraordinarily; his demand for knives, scissors, and table-utensils is very intense; and if all such things are taken from him, sometimes he puts on a touchingly resigned look and calmly sticks his left thumb into his mouth—that thumb which always shows some wounds from self-inflicted bites." The habit which is so extremely common among older children, of putting a finger in the mouth or of biting the nails at times of embarrassment, of shame, often of obstinacy, is to be regarded as a survival of previous finger-sucking; that is to say, even the temporary feeling of unpleasantness demands for its relief the tried and trusted method of excitation of the erogenous zones. It goes with the sexual character of sucking (des Lutschens) that, like the sexual act, it proves an effective means of inducing sleep.

In order to be able to suck her left thumb undisturbed, Shinn's¹⁰ niece, in the third month, preferred to be taken on her mother's right arm; and when so placed she would fall asleep, with every evidence of thorough satisfaction. "In the middle of this month she was given a small, closed rubber nipple, on which she then sucked as she had before on her fingers, and within eight days she

⁹ Scupin, Tagebuch, I, pp. 27, 29, 35, 42.

¹⁰ M. W. Shinn, *Körperliche u. geistige Entwicklung eines Kindes*, bearbeitet von W. Glabach und E. Weber, pp. 399, 401. This is probably the German rendering of "The Biography of a Baby."—ED.

had learned to connect the thought of sucking after this fashion with that of falling asleep." In the sixth month, it was seen that the "pacifier" (Saugpropfen) *exerted a really hypnotic influence*. But since the child, as Shinn further records, did not like to go to sleep without the "pacifier," and also the moment it had slipped from her during the night would cry for hours at a time, the mother tried hard to break up this habit, but in vain. "The child must have found its continuance both agreeable and effective. *Perhaps certain particularly pleasant sensations were connected with it*. For twice in the last half of this month, when the rubber nipple was held up before her, she greeted it with sounds of joy and with springing movements of the hands and feet. I have observed the same thing in other babies when they were greeting their nursing-bottle." Shinn adds to this report the correct surmise that the pleasure did not have to do solely with a recognition of the use of these articles as possible sources of nourishment; but she does not carry out her idea any further.

From my observations in the case of my nephew, I can say that the whole expression of his face while he is sucking his fingers—a habit which he has practised intensively from the earliest time up to the present (his seventh year)—is, at first, distinctly that of sexual excitement; while a little later, as he gradually falls asleep, it changes to one of comfortable and sensuous relaxation. Toward the end of the first year, he combined sucking on the thumb and third finger of his left hand with simultaneous rhythmic pulling on the bedspread with the fingers of his right hand. I maintain that, with this child, these movements are a substitute for onanistic activity, since the boy, even in his first month, as soon as he was undressed, used to pull hard at his genital organ. The proposition that *infantile onanism* is of regular occurrence has been much disputed, but can scarcely be denied. With boys it often begins early, as a result of the measures taken in caring for the body, and as a consequence of the easy accessibility of the genitals to mechanical excitations; while with girls, on account of the more concealed location of the genitalia, masturbation takes place far less frequently during the period of early infancy. But with them, too, the signs of sexual excitement usually make their appearance, thanks to the senseless fashion of clothing infants prevalent at present. For instance, the so-called "Durchzug," a small linen cloth used for preventing soreness of the thighs, is well adapted to excite the highly erogenous genital zone; and pressing together the upper thighs is a

characteristic form of self-gratification to the little girl. But, since mothers and nurses naturally try hard to prevent onanistic acts on the part of the infant, the latter soon transfers the source of pleasure to a more easily reached and a more harmless zone, the mouth; and *takes up sucking as a substitute for the forbidden pleasure*. Hence, sucking stands not only as the earliest form of lip-erotism, but also an early act (*Leistung*) of intelligence on the part of the infant. One mother reported to me, in regard to her boy, that by the age of seven months he had tried again and again, with sly glances, to masturbate; and that as soon as this was prevented, with strong obstinacy he betook himself to finger-sucking. The all too anxious "breaking" of infant onanism—frequently accompanied by painful punishments (even blows)—may contribute much to the development of *fear* and may lead also to habits of *deceit* and of defiant *obstinacy*.

One of the direct outcomes of the measures used in the physical care of children is the awakening of the pleasure in being naked. Even though the change of temperature is felt as uncomfortable by the child, yet the relief from the cramping of tight clothes, which comes from being undressed, is so delightful that the other sensation is no longer noticed. It is certainly true that there is no time when a child feels so free to use his muscles as when he is naked; and the tickling contacts of the loosened clothing rubbing against the skin must help to induce the vigorous throwing about of the limbs which still further intensifies his pleasant sense of freedom. This is a sort of stimulus which is, moreover, apt to be increased through repetition, as the child's mother, with anxious solicitude, makes ever fresh attempts to keep him covered from the air. And with all this there come, of course, fresh chances for the child to show his new-found power of resistance to his mother's will by striving to prolong the conditions that he has found so full of pleasure.¹¹ I have often had occasion to observe with what slyness my nephew, in his eleventh month, fought to be naked and came off victor; how he would watch for the moments when his nurse or mother turned away, in order to shake off the hated coverlet, and to renew the pleasures of sucking his toes or biting any part of his body that he could reach.

Delight in the nakedness of one's own body is one of the first and most evident manifestations of the infantile auto-eroticism. From this source, reinforced by the erotic pleasure which the use

¹¹ Scupin, *Tagebuch*, I, p. 4.

of the eye brings to the child, arise the *exhibitionism-tendency* and the spying or *peeking-habit* (Schaulust) of later years. And it is also one of the roots of Narcissism¹² which frequently, even by the end of the first year, comes to light in open, undisguised form. The unfolding of these impulses is greatly furthered by the measures taken in training the child. The command to cease from uncovering himself is too often accompanied by a half-concealed smile on the part of the proud mother or by a spying on the part of other adults who may be present that gives them more gratification than they are quite aware of. There cannot but grow out of this a certain sort of excitement, which is capable of making its appeal even to the smallest child. In a similar way, the playing of a harmless game like hide-and-seek may induce pleasure-accented experiences which connect themselves with any part of the child's body. The following case, observed by me, is typical of many: A ten-months-old boy with whom his mother plays "peek-a-boo," throwing a cloth over her head every time, imitates his mother faithfully in lifting his little shirt high at every "Da Da" on her part, and he does this with joyful screams that are all the more joyful the more vehement is his mother's cry of "Shame! Shame!" If any doubt could be entertained as to the propriety of ascribing the chief interest in this game, for the child, to the (unconscious) longing to exhibit himself, this should be dispelled when it is known that ever since his birth the little boy in question has been the subject of constant admiration for the beauty of his body; and that even in his sixth month he showed a longing to lie naked before any guests that might call. Educational blunders of the sort indicated by this story are committed more frequently than one would believe possible; and the excuse of parents—that the child is not yet old enough to know better—has nothing more to say for itself in such a case as this than when used to justify any one of the many other careless sins of omission of adults in their treatment of young children.

In proportion as the child gains better control of his young limbs the pleasure in moving them grows greater. *A dawning consciousness of self and an increasing self-confidence*—the outgrowth of infantile auto-erotism—awakens with the first successful attempts at sitting, standing, creeping, running. In regard to this E. and G. Scupin,¹³ in the eleventh week of their child's life, make the following note: "For some days past the mother has been teaching the

¹² Love of self, in a physical and mental sense. [Trans.]

¹³ Scupin, Tagebuch, I, p. 8.

boy to sit up; it goes surprisingly well. These exercises obviously give the child pleasure, and he demands them often by crying and by attempts to raise himself." Again with reference to the sixth month:¹⁴ "A favorite new movement is rocking the upper part of the body; with a truly roguish face Bubi sits in his carriage, bends forward, strikes out with his feet, and springs backward. In this fashion he rocks back and forth untiringly with evident pleasure. One day, sitting on his mother's lap he stretched his little arms toward the metal handles of the carriage, seized them, and then by rocking the upper part of his body backward and forward (occasionally, too, by bending and stretching his little arms) he pushed the wagon to and fro, only helped thus far by his mother, that she yielded to every one of his movements. *While doing this he put on a laughably self-satisfied air, and an expression as of one expecting praise.* This was more marked than anyone would have believed possible. The consciousness of physical achievement, of having performed an act requiring muscular strength, gives just as much delight to the infant as it does to other children; and leads him to reject outside help at a very early age. He likes, however, to feel that adults are present, from whom help can be obtained whenever his own strength gives out, and who—this is the chief point—will pay him the deserved tribute of admiration. For that reason, the child who is tenderly cared for learns to use his muscles and his special senses much earlier and with less effort than does an infant entrusted to indifferent attendants.

The high degree of fascination which swinging and being rocked in a cradle possess for even the very youngest children is due to the induction of sexual excitement¹⁵ through rhythmic mechanical shaking of the body (Freud). The child finds the rocking-motion of his carriage so agreeable that he is often inspired by it to talk to himself, in baby fashion, while it is going on.¹⁶ Also, the infant's

¹⁴ Scupin, Tagebuch, I, p. 18.

¹⁵ It is, of course, a matter of opinion, and largely a question of classification, what degree of assent this proposition should command. The point to remember is that Freud's view was formed on the basis of a very large experience with nervous invalids whose illnesses were traceable in part to demands for excitement originating in accumulated infantile experiences. [Trans.]

¹⁶ C. and W. Stern, *Monographien über die seel. Entwicklung des Kindes*. I. Die Kindersprache, p. 82. "At three months of age, whenever Günther is taken out in his carriage he begins 'to tell little stories' even when the carriage-curtains are down. Therefore it is not the effect of the changing views, but it is the movement of the carriage which puts him in a happy frame of mind."

shouts upon being tossed in the air, and the pleasure which he finds in rolling from side to side¹⁷ demonstrate (if taken in connection with the moist brilliancy of his eyes and his flushed cheeks) the sexual undertone of his feelings. This explains the persistent fondness which boys and girls have for swinging of every kind, even if it be only a see-saw on the edge of a chair. One may also see how, on the other hand, many a child's dread and dislike of rhythmic motion in later years¹⁸ is probably to be traced back to an excess of indulgence in this sort of pleasure during early years; for fear is often—as disgust is always—the expression of a reaction against a former—now forbidden—sort and source of pleasure.

Most children show during the second half of their first year of life a striking fondness for fingering very small objects—hairs, crumbs, etc.—a liking such as can hardly be accounted for except on the supposition that their *sense of touch is very highly developed*. Taking hold of tiny objects—which grown persons can pick up only with difficulty—brings obvious pleasure to the infant. Thus¹⁹ Strümpell reports that his little eight-months-old daughter took special delight in picking up very small objects such as crumbs of bread, beads, and so forth; and little Scupin, too, so we are told,²⁰ used to expend a good deal of energy in pulling out single hairs from his parents' heads. "The objects which he took especial pleasure in handling, during his twelfth month, were very minute, being of no interest except from their diminutive size. In a complicated toy the parts that he cared most about were a screw, a knob, a tassel, a little bell; his interest in the carpet seemed to center on a crumb, in the table-cloth on a spot, in the wall-paper (Tapete) on a scarcely visible dot in the design. The great significance of the *nerves of the skin*, for the good health and well-being of the child, is also to be recognized from his behavior in the bath. The delight with which he doubles his little fists, the flourishing of the limbs, all give evidence of an instinctive tendency, observable not only with infants but also with older children and even among adults, to react with pleasure to strong stimulation of the skin. The mild warmth of a tepid bath, the slight resistance of the fluid, may awaken in the infant a dim memory of his life before birth; and this may be one cause that prompts him to assume the prenatal position, with legs drawn up high and arms flexed against the body.

¹⁷ See above, Shinn, pp. 307, 308.

¹⁸ As in car-sickness. [Trans.]

¹⁹ L. v. Strümpell, *Psychologische Pädagogik*, p. 359.

²⁰ Scupin, *Tagebuch*, I, p. 46.

Many children continue through years to show a preference for this position in sleep; and the pressing of the folded arms against the breast, such as one sees among children and even grown people when they are listening intently to stories which make them shudder with excitement, seems to me to be a survival from the prehistoric period of the child's life. In a way not to be disregarded or overlooked, the tendency on the part of the infant to have sensations of a sexual nature also manifests itself during the bath, as well as during other attentions found needful in the care of children. That boys, a few days old, show real erections at such times is a daily experience of midwives, and is boasted of to the young mother as a sign of potential virility. One little boy, only thirteen days old, was reported as having wet chin and mouth with a stream of urine; and another baby boy, while having his third bath, showed a strong erection accompanied by symbolic spreading of the fingers. The latter movement was indeed observed by Preyer as occurring by itself, and that, too, when the fingers were dry, so that the spreading could not have been caused by wetness.²¹ Preyer continues: "Even on the seventh day the expression of pleasure seen in his wide-open eyes immediately after the bath was quite different from what it had been before. *No other sense-impression (Eindruck) of any kind is able, at this period, to call forth such an expression of satisfaction.*"

The strong skin erotism of the infant also makes itself evident in his reaction to kisses. Such love-tokens bestowed upon every part of the body are acknowledged with shouts of laughter;²² but here, too, one becomes gradually aware of favorite zones—such as the neck, arms, legs. It is a striking fact that to kisses on the mouth very little children will respond with sucking-movements²³—later, with biting-movements, even when as yet there are no teeth; but such children exhibit no feeling of pleasure at these times. Quite often, after the first year, children refuse, for a time, to allow themselves to be kissed. Finally, and as affording further evidence of the existence and importance of this heightened skin-erotism, it is noteworthy that children often show a passive acquiescence, and even exhibit signs of pleasure, when kisses are replaced by gentle bitings. E. and G. Scupin record thus about their little boy in the sixth month: "He stuck his finger into his mother's laughing

²¹ Preyer, loco citato, p. 74.

²² Scupin, Tagebuch, I, pp. 20, 74, 106; Shinn, l. c., p. 206.

²³ In the active kiss Compayré sees a "ressouvenir" of the lip-movement when nursing at the mother's breast (l. c., p. 98).

mouth, whereupon she bit him. Astonished, Bubi raised his eyebrows and looked at her questioningly. When his mother bit once more, he crowed for joy but promptly drew back the little hand. After a short pause, again of his own accord, he stuck his fingers into mother's open mouth, and at the same time looked very expectant. She bit again, and immediately his unrestrained laughter sounded forth."

M. W. Shinn²⁴ is of the opinion that, to the little child, eating (*i. e.*, sucking), biting, and kissing, all have, at first, one and the same meaning.²⁵ Certainly not until later does the true, social significance of kissing become clear to him, although it is in the first year more especially that his experience in being kissed (by his mother) is so rich; he accepts kisses as an agreeable stimulation of the skin, but often refuses to give them in return. Shinn and Preyer report the same thing; while Scupin's little son,²⁶ even in the first month, reacted pleasurably to kisses, in particular to noisy kisses, *i. e.*, kisses with strong local skin excitation. Gentle biting and scratching produce in the very little child not only no pain, but actual pleasure; so that in skin- and muscle-erotism we must recognize one of the roots of *sado-masochism*²⁷—in particular, of the *auto-sado-masochism*, far more frequent in the child than in the adult. Tiedemann²⁸ regards the fact that, in the first months of life, his little son gave himself severe scratch-wounds and blows in the face, as a proof of inability at this stage to distinguish his own body from that of another person's. Preyer, too,²⁹ sees in the self-infliction of wounds in the case of very young children, simply a lack of independent and thorough self-perception (*des Ich-Gefühls*). To-day we know from certain reactions of the child that the inflicting as well as the passive experiencing of pain is—under certain conditions—felt by him as a source of sensuous pleasure. Through the union of sadistic and masochistic feelings within one's own body, the opportunity is given for experiencing enjoyment of a two-fold sort, since then the Ego is both subject and object at

²⁴ M. W. Shinn, *l. c.*, p. 345.

²⁵ Compare the popular sayings, "She is pretty enough to eat," "I could eat you, I love you so much."

²⁶ Scupin, *l. c.*, p. 20.

²⁷ "Sadism" = the inflicting of pain for purposes of sensuous gratification; "masochism" = the acceptance of pain with a similar end in view. [Trans.]

²⁸ D. Tiedemann, *Beobachtungen über die Entwicklung der Seelenfähigkeiten beim Kinde*, p. 10.

²⁹ Preyer, *l. c.*, pp. 381, 382.

the same time. This is probably the chief reason why the sadistic (pain-inflicting) activity of the child is directed in the earliest days toward his own person. The pleasure is further intensified through this—that the child takes care not to go, in his pain-infliction, beyond the point set by his power to recognize the pain as pleasure. To speak of another and analogous source of excitation, although the fashion of the present day as regards clothing secures for the infant plenty of chance to move freely, yet the daily wrapping in the bath-towel is an operation that allows for an abundance of agreeable stimulation for skin and muscles. And older children likewise manage through the use of closely fitting undergarments, shoes, and so forth, and by scratching, to provide chances for these stimulations of the skin. Among the auto-sadistic acts of the infant, scratching stands in the foreground as for a while the sole possibility of that sort that his muscular development permits. On the very first day after his birth, the Scupin boy's hands had to be bound up because he scratched his face, and even on that day he resisted the restraint by kicking.³⁰

The strong impression which the sight and touch of a brush made upon him in his eleventh month³¹ is, as I believe, to be classified as masochism. At least, I observed the same behavior in my nephew at the same age. With a roguish "Prick! Prick!" he tapped very gently on the rather coarse bristles. A ten-months-old little girl acted in the same way toward brushes. Since the child, at such an early age, makes no difference between "animate" and "inanimate," a brush may be assumed to appear to him like a human being by whom he allows himself to be pricked, in this instance, like his mother, to whom he holds out his little hand for the bite, given in fun. The slight pricking evidently causes, in addition to the pain, an agreeable tickling of the skin. There are not a few adults who, without being pronounced masochists, declare that they feel a moderate pain to be, in a sense, pleasant. Aside from the distinctly morbid forms under which masochism and sadism appear in later years, where sensuous pleasure is found in actually tormenting oneself or other people, the existence of these same tendencies is hinted at by various acts, among which I have indicated scratching as the most primitive. As soon as the child's teeth come, he knows how to use them vigorously against himself and against people near him. Thumb-sucking is often united with biting. Not until much later

³⁰ Scupin, l. c., p. 1.

³¹ Scupin, l. c., p. 40.

does the child make use of the strength of his arms to give blows, and that of his legs in kicking. Conjoined with the masochistic tendencies of the child there is found, even very early, a demand for sympathy; while, on the other hand, the child of sadistic tendencies shows a wish to be admired, even feared, for his strength. Indeed, mothers and nurses often take the lead in playing with the child a kind of game in which they pretend to feel pain whenever he beats and pulls them. In the sixth month the little Scupin baby clearly showed his sadistic vein; we read: "He strikes at his mother, clutches her nose with his little hands and pulls it." For the eighth month the report is: "His newest passion consists in trying to seize his parents' eyes; evidently it angers him every time they hide themselves behind the eye-lids at the approach of his merciless little hand." In the ninth month: "Without pity his hands scratch our faces so that we cry out with pain. Often during these acts *there comes a truly cruel gleam* in the boy's eyes, his nostrils inflate, and he goes on with the martyring process, such as pulling out single hairs, making grasping movements toward our eyes, pinching us, and scratching us. If someone puts out his tongue, the child claws savagely at it with his nails and screams for joy. His mother's finger learns, through painful experience during the daily cleansing of his mouth, how sharp his teeth are getting, for then he bites energetically with downright diabolical eagerness."³² These instances of unconscious cruelty in the child are sufficient to show how strongly this impulse demands an active outlet; how it turns toward the very persons for whom the child's affection is the warmest; and how, at length, upon the impulse becoming gratified, the child's features light up with animation and take on an expression that recalls that of the adult when under the influence of strong sexual excitement. And just as this excitement, with many adults, becomes intensified when the element of physical pain is superadded, so, too, in the case of the child, and not seldom, the necessity is felt of exhibiting the strength of his passionate desires through sadistic acts. For this statement also, a confirmatory passage is to be found, in the Scupin diary,³³ relating to the eleventh month of their son's life and telling of his first acquaintance with a little girl about six months older. While this little girl was looking at him indifferently, the boy's play of features showed extraordinary excitement—interest, surprise, joy, and a deep-seated curiosity. When

³² Scupin, Tagebuch, pp. 19, 30, 31.

³³ Scupin, Tagebuch, p. 44.

the little girl, upon seeing him, suddenly said "Dolly!" the very perception that she spoke excited him strongly. For very delight, or perhaps too, in order to imitate her, suddenly he sent forth a flood of indistinct syllables, became more and more excited, *and with a quick exulting cry struck her in the face. Manifestly that was meant to be a caress.* Then he managed in a rough way to snatch a biscuit out of her hands, and after that the doll. Yet it was all done in such a spirit of affectionate playfulness that one could not think of his acts as signifying rage or ugliness of temper. Again, the boy, "O," bit and scratched his nurse's breast until she cried out loudly from pain, whereupon he grew all the more excited. Indeed his finger-nails became very dangerous to the hair and faces of people around him.

I have come to the conclusion, through questioning a number of mothers, that in the first years of life it makes no difference—as regards the liability to sadistic and masochistic tendencies—whether the child is male or female. The concurrent testimony of many observers has established the fact that every sadistically inclined person is also a masochist, and vice versa. But as boys are more aggressive, in a general sense, than girls, with the former the sadistic tendency is pushed more into the foreground. Furthermore, by virtue of being looked on as in fact a masculine attribute, this tendency (which often takes the form of cruelty) is not so energetically repressed, by nurses and attendants, in the little boy as it is in the little girl. Forms of conduct that, in the case of the boy, are regarded as containing the germs of future strength and are rebuked with smiles, are considered, in the case of the little girl, as objectionable indications of an unwomanly character. In spite of his frequently cruel expressions of countenance when performing sadistic (*i. e.*, cruel) acts, the conscious perception of the cruel element in these acts, and therewith the conscious purpose of inflicting pain upon another person, is lacking in the child for a long time. This fact comes out in Scupin's diary,³⁴ in the following important note from the child's fifteenth month: "Often, because of having to sit still while being dressed or undressed, he kicks angrily or bites his mother in the arm or on the shoulder even through thick clothing and with such force as to cause her severe pain. Several times when his mother called out 'Ow!' *it pleased him so much that he bit himself hard in the arm* and then likewise said 'Ow!' And

³⁴ Scupin, Tagebuch, I, 62.

when he felt the painful effects of his bite on his own flesh, he made a very surprised face."^{34a}

It would seem that the choice of games by little children is determined to some extent by whether the sadistic or the masochistic tendency predominates. Every attentive observer is aware that even without the aid of adults, healthy children invent little games of one or another sort—and one of their roots lies in the awakening muscle-power which is striving for development. That conscious volition is an essential factor in these early efforts, as always in real play, can be recognized from the satisfied smile on the child's face after success—from the displeased expression that attends repeated failure. All the muscle-groups take more or less part in the activities of play, but more than all the rest those which are concerned in movements of touching and seizing. These movements are often continued until weariness ensues, and they excite in the child's consciousness feelings of pleasure or of pain; if such movements are in part purely instinctive, and arise from the unconscious impulse on the child's part to use the muscles, yet it must be recognized that they supply sources of stimulation which are of the utmost importance for the development of perception through the senses (*Sinnesempfindungen*). The playful turning of the head from side to side at the sound of a noise, whether it be the bells of the sledge or the voice of the mother who lures the first smile from the child by means of her "Peek-a-boo" ("Da-Da!"); the stretching and straining of the little fingers toward the fringes on the carriage-curtain;—all such movements and efforts provide the little human being endless delight and are happy play to him. And from play he gains his first experiences in regard to things in his environment; he learns to distinguish his little self from the outside world through the varieties of feelings, sometimes painful, which it brings to him. Slowly but inevitably are formed the concepts (*Begriffe*) of large and small, round and square, near and far. And all these new perceptions are accompanied by pleasure or by pain. The child remains indifferent to whatever does not affect him in one of these two modes of feeling; and in seeking to reproduce or to escape these feelings, as the case may be, he demands so frequent a repetition of the occurrences of daily life that at last almost any kind of a change in them, however slight, is felt at first as an impression, then as an experience. In the first period of life

^{34a} The mother of a certain little boy had to bite *him* to stop his biting other people. He never had known how it hurt to be bitten. [Trans.]

sense-impressions must have a certain intensity in order to be perceived at all; in short, they must be powerful enough to excite either pain or pleasure. But even to direct the attention toward something is a source of pleasure to the infant—a pleasure which, to be sure, dies out before long on account of his liability to grow weary.

The first place among all the sense-organs, as dispenser of pleasure, belongs to the *sense of taste*. That I have not spoken of it until now has been for this reason—because in the service of play it is not utilized until relatively late. For the habit of sucking, whether on one's own body or upon some foreign object, concerns far more the gratification of the erotic functions of the skin and mucous membrane than those of the sense of taste. This latter sense is drawn first into relation with play when it becomes conjoined definitely with the *sense of smell*. First to smell a flower and then to taste it (eat it) seems to the child the natural sequence of events, of course. But with the development of the sense of smell, the child's interest awakens in his own "defecation products." This is an interest which no child is without, and one which (as long as the particular child in question has not learned to feel disgust) not seldom becomes pronounced coprophilism (Koprophilie). Infants with this tendency instinctively like to choose their own time for having their bowel-movements, and show an astonishing cleverness in availing themselves of the very moment when nurse leaves the room, although before that they had let themselves be urged in vain to perform their task. No cross words, no punishments keep the little offender from soiling hands, face, and clothes in a play so full of pleasure; occasionally, too, it happens that he brings his soiled hands to his mouth and thus discovers a new taste that gives him a special sort of gratification which he signalizes by the movements of his lips. A little later it may happen, obviously as the result of a double impulse both to give up and to maintain his interest in these bowel-excretions, that a process of *shifting*, or *substitution*, takes place in the infant's mind; as the outcome of this process, he begins to decline certain dishes like green and brown vegetables, eggs, etc., which from their color and consistency remind one of feces—and he does this while still retaining his coprophilic habits.³⁵ Thus my little nephew, who became a pronounced coprophilist very early and remained such until the end of his third year, began suddenly even in his eleventh month to show a decided disgust at

³⁵ This sentence has been amplified somewhat, from the original, to make its obvious and important meaning clearer. [Trans.]

spinach and other dark-colored vegetables. It is a fair guess that his nurse-maid, who it is true had had much to endure in consequence of this tendency of her little charge, had punished him in the way employed when dogs and cats are "house-broken." At any rate the sudden change in the little fellow's food-preferences was decidedly suspicious, and the boy's comments at a later period strengthened this suspicion. Eggs, for example, which he ate during his first year with almost greedy pleasure—his gaze fastened intently on the egg-cup—he began all at once in his twelfth month to refuse. Little "O" behaved in exactly similar fashion in his third year.

In close connection, as a rule, with coprophilism, stand *anal* and *urethral erotism*.³⁶ The emotional interest thus designated does not take on, at first, the somewhat elaborate self-conscious form that it assumes later; but it appears, nevertheless, even in the first months of the infant's life, in the shape of a wilful holding back of the feces; while, on the other hand, definite indications of pleasure are often given when the evacuation does take place, but at the wrong time. It is also noteworthy that these signs of pleasure are altogether different from those that simply indicate the natural relief from tension that attends a bowel-movement; for in the latter case there is none of that mischievous expression on the infant's face, none of that glancing around to detect the reaction of the bystanders to what is going on, none of that behavior so characteristic of the former situation. Even the cry which summons nurse or mother sounds quite different when the excretory-act is performed at the proper time, as a normal phase of the digestive process, from what it does when the feces are purposely "held back" by the child. When this happens he does not break into the plaintive crying which betokens the wish for help out of an uncomfortable situation, but gives a cry as it were of victory, indicating at once joy and wilfulness, a cry that says: "See what I have succeeded in doing!" One might say that the thinking faculty (intellect) of the child was being considerably overestimated in attributing to him such complicated thought-processes; but that they actually occur, that the facts are as stated, is proved by the countless mischievous tricks, of even small children, along these lines. Thus my nephew, at the age of eleven months, knew well how to take advantage of his great-aunt in summoning attention to his bowel-needs by means of the call "Ah-ah!"; but as soon as she had made the necessary

³⁶ Sadger, Über Urethralerotik, Jahrb. f. psycho-an. Forschung. II. For abstract see p. 114.

preparations, he would run away into a distant corner of the room, and as he went he would give a teasing, merry "Na-na!" Such happenings are among the daily experiences in every nursery, and no observing mother mistakes the intention of the child thus to get the better of her. The mental powers of the infant, feeble though they are, are just strong enough to utilize all the various processes which go on within his little body as materials for pleasure and for play. The events that mark the taking and digesting of food, and the multiform operations incidental to the care of the body, provide abundant materials and chances for securing gratifications of these sorts, and the infant's absorption in them gives an adequate explanation for the indifference which he sometimes shows to impressions from the outside world.

II. THE FIRST SIGNS OF VOLITIONAL ACTIVITY

We have seen how strongly the psychic life of the infant is influenced by the functional activities of his little body, and how these processes are attended by a sense of pleasure or of discomfort, as the case may be. Having recognized this to be so, we cannot be surprised that the child seeks, consciously or unconsciously, to reproduce the experiences which brought him pleasure, and to ward off those which he felt as limiting or painful. These forms of reaction, instinctive and impulsive in the beginning, become the basis of volition, as soon as the growing intelligence learns to connect perceptions that are at first isolated with ideas having a conscious goal. The child responds to a stimulus not by "conscious will" but by action. To will means to act. While still without the power to make known his will in plastic speech, yet through screaming, crying, seizing, touching, and kicking he is able to give expression to his needs.

The first movements and actions which one sees the nursling perform (usually in the second quarter of his first year) with definite signs of thought may be regarded as the most primitive expressions of activity of the will. The movements which are most significant, as corresponding to this first stage in the development of "will," are those through which the child instinctively resists the measures that are used for the care of his body. The will of the infant is at first self-will, in the narrowest sense of the word. Whatever he is obliged to do or to refrain from doing, contrary to his desire, the young child feels as a disagreeable limitation of the freedom of his budding personality—a limitation calling for vig-

orous resistance. The first expressions of the infantile will take, then, the form of negation, of refusal to do the will of those around him. So true is this that even after the will has long since shown itself in a constructive form, the negatory tendency is retained as obstinacy, as defiance, even as an intentional working of harm to others.

These views, according to which the child's will is first manifested in the form of dumb opposition, afford also an explanation of the fact (confirmed by all students of child-life) that the first movements of the head which children make are those that are properly called head *shaking* rather than nodding; and that the word "No" is used before "Yes." For the child, "No" is, first of all, the expression of unwillingness; it is an unmistakable expression of voluntary choice, as is clearly shown by the general tendency to double the word ("No, no"). This protest of the infantile nature against every form of control is so powerful that, as an additional means of expressing opposition, gesture soon becomes supported by words. The importance of the rôle which thus falls to the resistance-tendency, in its effect upon the development of the child, is made clearly apparent by the study of children's dreams in which unfulfilled wishes of the day find fulfilment. A remnant of this tendency survives in the habit, obtaining among many adults, of always beginning a remark with "No."¹

Even in his first year of life the efforts which the child is forced to make in suppressing his own will are so prodigious that it is not to be wondered at that they give place, now and then, to temporary outbursts of passion. In other words, the restraints which the infant is compelled to put upon himself in submitting to the measures taken for the care of his body, especially when these seem to him unnecessary, induce a hampering sense of limitation and of strain, and a slight provocation is then enough to bring on outbreaks of rage before which the parents stand perplexed and helpless. If an affectionate compliance with the child's first voluntary impulses was more often substituted for an attempt to suppress them (which so frequently springs from purely egoistic motives) not only would the later training be made easier, but many a danger to the child's mental development would be deprived of seed and soil. It is an important matter for the building of character whether the will is felt as more or as less free. When mothers brought face to face with

¹ This is much more common in Germany than in English-speaking countries. [Trans.]

the unyielding obstinacy of a three, six, or ten-year-old child, whom they were unable either by severity or by kindness to master, finally excuse their failure by saying that he was just as wilful in the cradle, they not only give a correct statement of the facts, but likewise make the admission that at that period, when the child was scarcely a year old, the right way of education was missed, in favor of either ill-timed severity or excessive coddling.

The latter mistake is made mainly in the case of the first-born or of the only child, who then, as a result of the exaggerated solicitude with which he finds every demand fulfilled, soon learns to pose as a tyrant over the whole household. On the other hand, in families where there are many children, a lack of affection on the part of the parents is apt to be felt, especially by the late and unwelcome arrivals. This lack may not manifest itself through outward neglect but in less obvious ways, and yet may make a life-lasting impression on the child. Too often his voluntary efforts are nipped in the bud, or his manifestations of rage and obstinacy suppressed with too strong a hand, by his parents, unaware of the danger to which the development of the child's character and his future relation to themselves are thus subjected. The father who boasts that his child has been obstinate to him only a single time and, after having received punishment, has never again dared to oppose his will, fails to realize the fact that on that occasion he may have laid the foundation for a permanent estrangement between himself and his child.

Such an evaluation as this may be regarded as implying an overestimate of the infant's power of thought. But when one considers how distressing the memory of the first severe punishment must be, since the result is to make the child give up his will to that of the father; when one thinks how great a struggle and self-conquest it must cost the mite of humanity to subject himself unconditionally, and without a protest, to his father; then one cannot but recognize in such a piece of suppression—far transcending that which the child could accomplish spontaneously—the true cause of many a strange and deplorable fate. It is only when free activity of the will is allowed to the child, so far as the well-being of his body and soul (broadly interpreted) permits, that the conditions are created for a happy unfolding of the little creature's capacities.

In the nursery where love and understanding reign, simply to forbid is enough; and in the first year of the child's life, this should be limited to matters of purely bodily concern. The hard words

"You must" should remain unknown to the child as long as is practicable. Fortunately, in respect to the very little child, nature has set a limit to the effect of this command, in leaving him incapable of understanding its full meaning and with a physical inability to fulfil it.

Ambition, educationally one of the most important impulses, acts as a powerful stimulus to the will, even in earliest childhood. It is not solely the pleasure in muscular activity that causes the infant to strive so tirelessly to stand, to creep and walk; another spur to his efforts is the longing to be admired, to win the attention of his environment. How impressive are the eager efforts with which the child raises himself to his full height on his nurse's arm! How proudly and with what elation does he accept recognition and praise of his strength! Is it not obvious that a half-conscious purpose enters into his attempts to reproduce the situations through which his vanity is flattered? It is just to that end that he performs before his little public and apportions his love-favors and bestows the tokens of his affection according to the degree of admiration paid him.

The following experience is typical. It is about a little peasant girl of ten months, with whom an elderly lady spending a holiday in the country is ready enough to occupy and thereby to amuse herself. The child first lifts her arms to attract attention, then creeps nearer and strives with never-wearying persistence to raise herself erect, in response to the lady's admiring challenge, "Ella is as tall as this—as this," indicating the point with one hand. Thus the baby makes her first independent efforts at walking, reinforcing them by constantly demanding the lady's praise by casting inquiring glances in her direction.

Occurrences of this sort, which may be seen daily in homes where careful attention is given to the development of the children, deserve especial mention because such acts show how instinctively the love of admiration is rooted in the child's mind, even when the mother's solicitude has been confined to what is essential in meeting the child's bodily needs. The retarded development of powers of mind and body in the case of children who lack loving and intelligent care during the first months of life, is to be attributed to a late awakening of ambition.

The opportunities for progress through imitation open a broad field for activity to the child's will; but real success on these lines demands such a high degree of intelligence that I shall defer further

consideration of this matter to the chapter devoted to the development of the intellect.

III. THE FIRST SIGNS OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTELLECT

The eye, "the mirror of the soul," makes it possible for the attentive observer of that marvel of creation, the newborn child, to recognize the first slight stirrings of the infantile intellect (*Verstand*). These stand in the service of those primitive impulses of the human soul, hunger and love, taken in the broadest sense. Just as hunger (demand) for food and air awakens in the child the first associative reactions, so does the need of affection, and its satisfaction through the mother, awaken the beginnings of recognition. Joyfully the infant follows the mother's preparations to nurse him; and his power of making fine distinctions is shown by the fact that the same service by another person leaves him indifferent. Before long he knows the place which the mother takes when she offers him the breast. In the same way the artificially nourished child fastens his gaze upon the bottle as soon as it is filled with milk. That the child becomes excited at the sight of the breast or of the bottle is proof that an associative process comes into play. Tiedemann reports¹ that his little son, at the age of two months, stopped crying as soon as he was placed in the position for nursing and his face was touched by a soft hand. The fact that here the child was governed by an associative process of elementary form was shown by his feeling after the breast. Observations by both Shinn and Scupin agree in the account that they give of this early associative thought-process.

Since for the child the evacuation of the bowels is just as pleasantly emphasized as is the taking in of nourishment, one must conclude that the former process is present to his mind as a matter of real interest; and indeed it is evident that thought-associations connected with both processes are present very early in life. Thus, my nephew, at the age of eleven months, to the great amusement of the company at table, when he saw a white soup-tureen, the two handles of which he failed to notice, evidently remembering the night-vessel upon which he was accustomed to relieve his need, called out joyfully "Ah-ah!" A little girl of seven months, who, on account of constipation, was frequently given an enema, came to associate this process very closely with a certain folded piece of

¹ D. Tiedemann, *Beobachtungen über die Entwicklung der Seelenfähigkeiten beim Kinde*, p. 9.

Mosette-batiste (Mosettig-Batist), so that the sight of it always brought on a severe fit of screaming and crying.

These early thought-associations (Begriffsverknüpfungen), connected with the taking of nourishment and the movements of the bowels, make such a lasting impression by virtue of the emotional tone by which they are so strongly marked, that even when apparently forgotten they retain their place in the unconscious mind; and with the growing child they are likely to find an outlet in the seemingly unmotivated outbursts of laughter for which school children are so often reprimanded, as if for intentional disturbances of order.

The desire for light and air also gives ample opportunity for definite associations, such as Preyer, Shinn, and Scupin cite in great number. The pleasurable satisfaction of this demand, this hunger, is expressed in shouts of joy when the child is carried to the sunny window, or as soon as he sees preparations being made for going out of doors.

The routine of daily life, the frequent repetition of definite acts at the same hour of the day, prepare the way slowly for the formation in the mind of the idea of "time"; and this takes place long before the adult would suppose an accurate conception to be possible. In his eleventh month my nephew connected quite correctly, after a week's experience, his leaving the garden at nine o'clock in the morning with the meal that immediately followed, namely, with an egg; so that as soon as that hour arrived and he was placed in his carriage, he cried out delightedly, "Ei-Ei (egg-egg)!" In the afternoon, on the contrary, at the sight of his little cap, he called out "Bah-Bah!" When his mother, in order to test his power of making the correct distinction, offered him an egg one afternoon, the child rejected the offer, just as he had turned away in the morning from a proposed ride (Bah-Bah!). That the feeling of being satiated had not influenced his refusal is shown by the fact that he was accustomed to have a certain quantity of milk given him before going out to ride.

As a second source of infantile mental activity (Geistestätigkeit) I have indicated "love." It is a well-known and obvious fact that the person whom the child first learns consciously to recognize is the one who is occupied most intensively with his care, the one who is concerned daily and hourly in providing for his needs. He recognizes such a person from certain distinguishing signs which through frequent repetition have made an impression on his mind.

This act of recognition is shown, for example, in his smiling pleasantly on his mother, or exclaiming with joy at the sound of her voice in another room.

The love-plays which mother and child invent create for the latter a series of thought-associations of the greatest significance for later childhood. Indeed, they are of significance for the whole of life, since, as unconscious memories, they help to mould the love-life of the adult, and serve as one of the main sources of origin of that whole group of habits (*Lebensgewohnheiten*) which differentiate the individual from the genus. The helplessness of the mite-of-humanity is the condition which accounts for his exceptional position (in the family). And before long he makes use of his advantage; for he has enormous need of love. Very soon he learns that screaming and crying bring an end to the tedium of loneliness. And he employs these means not solely when physical discomfort suggests the need of an affectionate attendant, but as an artifice through which he may secure the companionship which he desires. The first definite signs of his being attracted toward other people come into existence along the path of his intellectual development. Indeed that is the *conditio sine qua non* for it. This statement is not out of harmony with the proposition just now advanced, that love is one source of certain sorts of mental processes. Intellect and feeling stand in such close relationship to each other in the very little child, that with him each new acquisition in the one realm brings a gain in the other. The more rapidly the intellectual powers unfold, the more intensively does the life of feeling (*Gefühlsleben*) begin to stir within the child—a mode of progress in development (*Entwicklungsgang*) to which pedagogy does not always turn proper attention. Side by side with feelings of sympathy in the child, feelings of antipathy likewise become manifest. They also prove themselves to be the outflow of the need of love; for they are directed primarily toward people from the hands of whom the child has experienced pain, has met with a refusal of the love demanded—love taken in its fullest meaning. For example, the unpleasant experience of vaccination sometimes causes the child not only to dislike the doctor who vaccinates him, but other persons instinctively associated with him, through being of similar appearance. I have known a little girl of ten months, who had been vaccinated two months before by a doctor wearing a handsome full black beard, to run away screaming from her own dark-bearded father on his entering the room after a considerable absence. My

own nephew shows an aversion toward men with black beards, which seems to lead back to a similar experience and which has lasted up to his fifth year. The emotional character of the original experience was so strong that it produced illusions of recognition. The antipathy of many children toward cats seems likewise to depend upon associations formed in very earliest childhood. My sister transferred to cats her antipathy toward a doctor who, in her tenth month, came, dressed in dark furs, and examined her throat by the finger. Even when four years old she burst into loud screaming at the unexpected sight of a cat. The doctor's gait, a gliding one, intensified this association.

The power to "recognize" is materially aided by another instinct of importance for education, namely, curiosity. The small child wishes to see everything and hear everything. As soon as the first fear at the sight of something which is new has been overcome, the child finds pleasure in using all his senses in studying it. This curiosity directs itself, in the natural course of events, to all the measures which are adopted for the care of the child's body, those, especially, which are associated in his mind with anticipation of a pleasurable sort; hence, for example, the intent listening whenever the bath-tub is filled or emptied, an event which clearly carries an undertone of sexual interest. Shinn, Scupin and Preyer all tell of the marked pleasure which the gurgling of the bath-water gave to the children under their observation. When one considers that this form of interest occurs just at the time of the early training (*Dressur*) having relation to bodily needs and habits, the enjoyment is adequately explained. The great importance which parents and nurses attach to the excretory act does not remain unnoticed by the child, largely because while that is taking place he quite often earns words of praise to which his vanity is by no means insensible. But since the act in itself is without meaning for the child, and remains removed, to a considerable extent, from perception through his senses, his curiosity turns naturally to the results of the act. The surprise and self-satisfaction expressed in his face on first beholding his own "defecation products" makes it easy to suppose that the first idea of an independent creative power now dawns within the child's mind.

One of the very foundation-pillars of early education, indeed of the all-around psychic development of the child, is the impulse to imitate. It is difficult to say when this first appears. Beyond doubt imitative acts have been observed as early as in the infant's

seventh month. They presuppose acts of will and of comprehension (*Verstandesakte*). It is these that lead the child to make those comical gestures which impress the onlooker as so irresistibly amusing, because there comes to light in them the contrast between the adult act, performed consciously and with a knowledge of the goal sought, and the seemingly purposeless acts of childhood. We see unrolled before us, as it were, in its full ludicrousness, the incongruity between the manifestations of mature understanding and the activity of the infant, which is characterized by ceaseless and automatic repetition. I have not been able to persuade myself that the young child is conscious of the comicalness of this situation, as some authors maintain. The child who, when scarcely a year old, puts on his father's hat, does this with the utmost seriousness; and it is with the same seriousness that he distorts his face in front of the mirror into laughable grimaces, in imitation of his elders. As soon as he begins to laugh, even the interest in the imitation becomes lost, in great measure. The more exact the imitation, the more it becomes a serious occupation for the child. This is the first form of the infantile wish to be "big," to be "grown up," of which I will speak later in another connection. This imitation impulse is of the greatest importance for the intellectual development of the child. Without that it would be impossible to teach him to speak; and by means of it we are able to direct the child's attention to the manifold events of daily occurrence. He learns to imitate the noise of running water, the whistling of the wind, and a hundred other sounds. Through the same means he learns to use his toys in the right way, and also to keep himself from injuries of various sorts.² Nor does the affective life remain entirely uninfluenced by this imitation instinct. During early life expressions of apparent sympathy with other people, taking the form of laughing or crying with them, are simply acts of imitation. And such manifestations first become "emotionally-toned," in a pleasurable or unpleasurable sense, through the associations which the child has formed in other ways. This principle is illustrated still more clearly in later childhood by the infectious laughter of whole classes at school.

The early imitative attempts at speech (*Lallversuche*) are to be regarded as one of the earliest achievements of the infantile intellect, except in so far as these attempts are solely the expressions

² A child (known to the translator), nearly four years old, burned her face with her own play flat-iron which she heated on the stove and tested against her skin, as she had seen her grandmother do.

of pleasure, as Stern³ found them to be in the case of his little son, Günther, when taken out to drive, in his fourth month. As soon as it is shown to be the manifest wish of the child to make himself intelligible to his environment by means of simple sounds or syllables, or to imitate anything spoken to him, there is present for us an effort of the infantile intelligence. The careful consideration of this point leads on to one of the most important chapters in our further study of the child's mental development, that which concerns itself with the development of speech.

IV. THE BEGINNINGS OF SPEECH

So many excellent publications are already in existence which occupy themselves with the speech of childhood that I shall attempt to throw light upon the subject only where supplementation of some special sort is needed. In none of these works is there to be found even a hint of the tendency, on the part of early word-formations, to connect themselves with the physiological arrangements, and the organs that serve them, which are just as needful for the further well-being of the body as are those that are concerned with the taking in of nourishment. Stern writes,¹ indeed, as follows: "The child selects his environment and his interests from the childish point of view (*pädozentrisch*) . . .," and again: "The fact that Hilda, in designating her activities (giving names to acts), also proceeds *pädocentrically*, is shown in her naming first of all only such acts as she herself performs and likes to perform." Yet, in spite of this, neither in the works of Stern, nor in those of other investigators of child life are there to be found any comments to indicate that sounds or syllables are chosen with reference to the processes above mentioned. But since we have no reason to assume that these processes were unattended by feelings of pleasure to the children under observation, and therefore failed to excite their interest; and since there is just as little ground for believing that the training to which they were of necessity subjected was effected without the use of words, the only explanation of the apparent abnormality of those children is that all objectionable expressions were carefully struck out—not, indeed, from the child's speech, but from the scientific studies based on the observation of it. For how different from these descriptions is the reality of the nursery! My nephew's stock of words, in his twelfth month, com-

³ C. u. W. Stern, *Die Kindersprache*, p. 82.

¹ C. u. W. Stern, *l. c.*, pp. 179, 180.

prised four syllables, "Ei (egg)"—"Ah-ah!"—"Bah-bah!"—"Na-na!"—which corresponded to the chief interests of his young existence; namely, to eating, digesting, sleeping and going out of doors, and to making known his will. Why, indeed, should the little child, who cannot be assumed to be governed by esthetic principles, allow of his own will those visible signs of the nutrition process (Stoffwechsels) to go unnoticed, those processes which from the earliest days have been the cause to him of pleasure or pain, praise or blame, according to his success and prompt compliance in relation to them? The Scupins alone record in their diary, in regard to their little son, that from the very beginning he exhibited a lively interest in all the functions of his body. In showing this interest the little fellow certainly did not differ from all children who have been studied in the past and will be studied in the future. To every child the act of attending to his own natural needs brings satisfaction; and not only is this true of the act itself, but the products of the act are likewise a source of pleasure. Whatever occupies the child's thoughts intensively and enduringly, for that he seeks a name; and that name, of course, is never missing in any nursery. Perhaps the largest or earliest acquired part of the very little child's store of sounds and words is that group which springs from anal—and urethral—erotism. For spontaneous lalling (*lallen*, *i. e.*, repetition of apparently meaningless sounds), and the earliest attempts at speech represent primarily the activity of the infantile will in the interests of pain and pleasure; and these expressions of feeling, in their turn, are connected, to a large extent, with the process of digestion, are bound up with it, as it were. Of course the supreme importance of the second root of speech development, imitation, should not be overlooked in this connection. But here again, at this period of life, the need mainly at stake is that of providing bodily functions with names.

In addition to this rudimentary speech (*das Lallen*) there comes the entire scale of tones of tenderness with which every mother loves to give her child pleasure, to sooth him and to put him to sleep, tones which perhaps she unconsciously draws from vestiges of memories of her own primordial period of existence. Devoid of definite meaning as these tones apparently are, they form a language full of love and logic, a language which constitutes a true bond between mother and child. Perchance there lies a profound significance in the faltering speech of the boy, who whenever he was unhappy called for "Ma-ma," and whenever he was in a cheerful state of

mind summoned "Da-da." In every time of woe it is, indeed, the mother who first hastens to her child, comforts him and helps him out of trouble, while the father (in the first infant "Lallen" often called "Da-da"), for the most part, frolics with the child and therefore represents for him the mood of active cheerfulness. The fact that children frequently hold fast so long to their first-year baby talk, and, furthermore, that it tends to return in adult life in moments when affection is felt at its highest, gives evidence of the need of love—love as conceived in the very earliest childhood—a need then poorly expressed in words but shown by means of gestures and seemingly senseless sounds. The further fact—really undeniable—that every experience which makes an impression upon the child in a sensual or erotic sense also contributes to the enlargement of his vocabulary, is unfortunately thrust aside as unimportant.

A special significance belongs to the child's monologues, and to his echo-speech (*Echolalie*). The former, appearing as they do, linked with definite situations, clearly show their relationship to the emotional life (*Gefühlsleben*). Monologues are indulged in by almost all children while they are being gently rocked in the carriage, or else during swinging-movements on the arm of the mother. They have also been observed as expressions of anger and disappointment. In such cases the monologue is a substitute to the child for the expressions of love which were denied him, contrary to his expectation—the principle being the same with relation to that of the sucking-habit, as above noted; the activity of the muscles gives him so much pleasure that he soon forgets the thing he originally desired, or, in other words, he abandons it. For my little nephew, during the period between his seventh and thirteenth month, certain combinations of syllables, unwearyingly repeated (*ä bä bä—bä bä rrr*), formed a sort of defense-reaction (*Abwehrreaktion*) against the pressure brought on him to cease onanistic acts. Sully fittingly characterizes the strongly accentuated feeling (*Gefühlsbetonung*), or emotional tone, associated with lalling: "The child hears the self-produced sounds and they please him."² From that moment the child continues the lalling for the pleasure which it gives him. The germ of such a pleasure-seeking "Lallen" consists in repetition of the same sound. The child thus shows that he has arrived at the stage of echo-speech in which, in addition to muscle-movements experienced as agreeable through their frequent

² J. Sully, *Untersuchungen über die Kindheit*; deutsch v. Stimpfl, p. 113.

repetition, a new pleasure-producing stimulus is found in the rhythm. At the same time the imitation-instinct is given an opportunity to show itself. Together with these early speech acquisitions, undisguised tendencies to Narcissism of an infantile form are clearly and vividly apparent. A little peasant child, Ella, who, in her tenth month, was first stimulated to attempts at lalling, through the well-meant attentions on the part of an elderly lady, repeated the imitated syllables not only indefatigably, but with signs of pride and satisfaction. The Scupin records contain similar statements about the impression made by the echo-speech of their child upon himself. The "arch smile" before the attempt, "the comically important mien" during the same, prove beyond doubt how intensively the affective life is influenced by early intellectual performances of this sort.³

V. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ETHICAL FEELINGS

Long before it is possible for the infant to express his emotional life in speech, gesture and mimicry betray to us the awakening of feeling. In this way, quite early, the child is able to express his likes and his dislikes. Just on account of his inability to communicate his thought in definite form, at this stage of life, we are often left entirely in the dark as to why the child feels himself drawn toward one person, while another excites in him a feeling of antipathy. The deepest and most important reason for this probably lies in an unconscious comparison which he is impelled to institute between each new person and *that first person*—the mother, as a rule—who took care of him in infancy. He seeks in them the same sorts of devoted service, the same voice, stature, even the same movements that he had learned to associate with her; and the impression of strangeness that forces itself upon him in the presence of persons previously unknown inclines him to regard them as something not only new but hostile (Neomismus). Freud has shown, also, that the habitual choice of an object of special love, on the part of a man, is determined by the fact of his childish affection for his mother, by her personal characteristics; and the same principle holds good, in the woman's love-life, with respect to the person of her father. The peculiar place of father and mother in the inner emotional life of the child is conditioned by the circumstances of the family life. The explanation of the striking fact that even in children who have passed their earliest childhood far

³ Scupin, *Tagebuch*, I, p. 33.

away from the parents, there often develops a passionate love for one or the other of them, is of a twofold sort. In the first place, the infant never receives from stranger-attendants such a large measure of affection as from his own parents, and so never as much of it, when they are absent, as his own need of love would prompt him to desire. Furthermore, the growing child feels this lack, doubly if he sees other children of his own age unfolding and blossoming in the love-warmth of their own family circles. There is no contradiction, in principle, between the picture here given—that represents the child's first impulses of affection as turning toward his parents—and the Freudian conception according to which the period of infancy is one of pure auto-erotism. For to the child his own personality is the central point about which there revolves everything that happens, everything that is experienced, everything that is felt; and therefore, naturally, he directs his young love to those persons who from the beginning devote themselves to his care. The selection of a love-object is effected without detriment to his conception of the world as centering on him; indeed, it is a result of this conception. But whenever the child is given less love than his needs require, he tends instinctively to seek compensation by turning his thoughts toward himself. The egocentric tendency of the affective and the intellectual life (*Gefühls-und-Geisteslebens*) of the infant is deepened through the over-measure of parental affection, and this egocentric impress frequently appears, even in the second half of the first year, as obvious jealousy. At eight months of age Tiedemann's little son fell into a state of highest excitement when his mother, for a joke, placed a strange child at her breast.¹ At this stage of life the child feels himself already so closely (intimately) connected with the mother who serves as his source of nourishment, and yet more of pleasure, that he will not relinquish possession of her. Perhaps it is in this relationship that the first mental grasp of the idea of personal property (mine and thine) takes its root. This idea is effectively intensified by the question so often heard, "To whom then do you belong? (Whose baby are you?)" Whatever the child feels as his very own, that he will not give up without strong resistance. But, above all, he will not voluntarily give up his mother's care and love. With this feeling as the starting point, all the little tricks are planned by means of which even the nursling seeks to tyrannize over his mother and lead her to relegate her other household inter-

¹ Tiedemann, l. c., p. 24.

ests to a secondary place. He understands how to find himself obliged to relieve his bodily needs while the grown folks are at meals because people are not paying him particular attention just then, and he wishes to compel it; also he knows how to call his mother to him, by crying hard, as soon as she has gone to rest at night. In all these performances there speaks out clearly the infant's strong craving for demonstrations of affection, and likewise his unwillingness to allow his mother to occupy herself with other matters, instead of devoting herself to him with her entire heart. Even the most unsophisticated mothers understand this perfectly well, as is shown by their frequent complaints: "The moment I go out of the room the little rascal cries."

Not only jealousy, but also anger springs from the child's unsatisfied demand for affectionate attention. Since he is unable to perceive the reason why these attentions which he craves should not be always rendered, any failure to render them implies for him a lack of wish to do so; and to him his outbursts of rage are at the same time a pleasurable exercise of his muscle-power. This is shown by the fact that even after the circumstances productive of the anger have long since passed away, the infant may still continue to rage and kick, until physical exhaustion sets in. Then, too, making the body rigid—which is practised as early as in the tenth month—is an expression of angry obstinacy, as well as of strong muscle-erotism (*Muskel-erotik*). The Scupins report about their little son, then in his seventh month, as follows:² "The child falls into a similar rage if it is decided to place him in his carriage when he wishes to be carried in arms. His whole head grows red from anger; he gives a hoarse cry and makes his little body stubbornly stiff, so that it becomes an actual impossibility to set him down. And when, yielding to this energetic manifestation of his will, the mother was several times moved to let the boy have his own way, and stretch himself out if he liked, it became quickly evident that he had taken in the full bearing of his act; for we observed later that when a strong desire for something came over him, he would suddenly make his body stiff and throw himself backward in a wilful fashion, as if giving a sign from which he expected a definite result to follow. Even in the sixth month he practised this same manœuvre of making the body stiff whenever he became tired of being alone and discovered that he was not receiving the un-

² Scupin, Tagebuch, I, p. 21.

divided attention of those about him. The parents' report³ relating to this period describes how the expression of the boy's face clearly revealed the changing feelings, as of anger, obstinacy, fear, mischievousness (Mutwille), or disappointment, as the case might be, by which he was controlled. The interpretation here given of these movements—*i. e.*, the recognition of them as signs of (unconscious) thinking on the infant's part—contradict's the conception of Preyer, who does not look on them as indications of genuine mental activity, although he does consider them as signs of opposition against being compelled to lie down (Mittel gegen gewaltsames Hinlegen).

When we think of the various ways in which the nursing child sues for demonstrations of affection, methods adopted as if consequentially, with that end in view; when we realize how this craving takes on the form, now of tenderness, now of jealousy, now of anger, or again of subtlety (List); and how in moments of wilfulness the unappeased love-craving is likely to fall back, in its search for an outlet, upon some form of erotic satisfaction; then the great importance of the parents' obligations—particularly those of the mother toward her child—becomes clearly manifest. The proper fulfilment of these obligations provides the foundation for the character-development of later years. When love has not been manifested adequately in earliest childhood, the feeling of love often remains deficient throughout adolescence and adult life, together with an enduring longing for this feeling. Every loving glance, every gentle touch which falls to the share of the infant leaves its traces in the memory, in the form of an impression; and all these agreeable impressions weave themselves into a bright background against which the light and dark tones of later life stand out in relief. Even if the adult has no distinct memory of those first months, it is certain, nevertheless, that they have exerted their influence upon his mental development. The impressions then made continue to live, and send out delicate tendrils into dreams of later life, filling them full of earliest childhood-wishes—those dreams which seem to the laity altogether inexplicable and absurd. In his work entitled "The Language of Dreams," Wilhelm Stekel has pointed out how the so-called "nurse-dreams" reach back even into the first year of life. I can confirm this from my own experience. I used to have a very distressing dream which recurred again and again up to within a brief period. It was a dream which appeared

³ Scupin, Tagebuch, I, p. 18.

to contradict the Freudian conception that a wish-fulfilment lies at the foundation of every dream. I dreamed, namely, that—now in a park, now in a living room—I had to take charge of a young girl who was suffering from nervous cramps. She tried to cling to me in the most obtrusive manner. The strong excitement which I felt on waking, combined with a depression lasting several hours (as a result of the retained dream-picture of the child's distorted features), seemed entirely to refute the idea of a "dream-wish-fulfilment"; but a thorough self-analysis brought out that the picture of the child was really a picture of myself. As a child of from two to four months, I had suffered from severe convulsions (Fraisenanfällen) as a result of which I screamed without cessation, and therefore was constantly carried around on some one's arm. The surmise is admissible that those attacks were of hysterical nature, either wholly or in part. Through many years, one symptom of such attacks kept fast hold upon me, namely a nervous headache during which I used to roll up the pillow so that my head hung over it, in exactly the same way as in former days when, according to my parents' statement, I used to cry so hard and let my head hang down backward over the nurse's arm. Through this dream my subconscious self sought to be transported to the first weeks of childhood, in the wish to obtain for myself manifestations of affection such as it rarely falls to one's lot to experience, except in days of severe illness, especially in childhood. Since tracing this dream to its infantile root, my night's rest is no longer disturbed—a clear proof of the correctness of the interpretation.

Inasmuch as the helplessness of the child in the cradle always makes each new arrival the center of the family, the position of being an "only child" (a position which becomes so important in the years that follow) plays no pronounced rôle in infancy. The mental development of twin children, on the other hand, exhibits special tendencies which become evident at the very dawn of the mental life and impart an influence which makes itself felt throughout all later years. To the attentive observer, the distinguishing signs of this developmental tendency become manifest as early as about the middle of the second half-year. The most important of these signs, at this time, are outbreaks of trouble based on feelings of jealousy. The operations of nursing and bathing afford to one or the other of the little aspirants for success ample opportunity to protest vigorously against the showing of preference for his mate—the twin-brother or twin-sister—and bring to naught any

apparent tendency to give the precedence. Thus I know of two boys of whom the one always had to be carried out of the room while the other was being bathed, since he regarded the care bestowed on his brother as a slight offered to himself. The same boy would not suffer his mother to offer his brother the breast before he himself had received his own portion from his wet-nurse. Possibly he began, after a little time, to look on the fact of not being nursed actually by his mother as in itself a sign of lack of love, since in other respects she bestowed just the same attentions upon both children. With the other boy there developed toward his brother a pure attraction, free from all jealousy—an attachment which made even a temporary separation of the children impossible. On the whole, the two boys—now seven years old—have retained the same fundamental traits of character that they showed at first; the one little fellow shows an appealing (?) affectionateness, conjoined with a tendency to dependence, while the fondness exhibited by the other is darkened by ever-increasing jealousy. In a similar way, for the most part, the psychic development of female twins is affected.

Twins of different sex behave quite differently from this. With them a pronounced erotic relationship comes into the foreground as early as in the last months of the first year of life. I heard one mother of two such children designate their relationship as a state of being “actually in love” (*geradezu verliebt*). She had nursed both children herself. At the time when she began to substitute mixed food for an exclusive milk-diet, the boy was never weary of giving his little sister something from each dish before he ate of it himself. One child would not let himself be taken out for a ride without the other child. From the tenth to the eleventh month the boy’s love had already put on the character of active admiration, and the girl’s affection had taken a submissive attitude—traits which later became considerably strengthened and which soon caused the twins to go on record as “a pair of lovers.”

It would be of great value for the better understanding and management of twins, in later years, to have a written record of their early, childhood history to refer to. Such a history would throw much light on the tendency of such persons to show a one-sidedness in their development, a persistent need of having some one to depend on, a shyness and diffidence in temperament, and, finally, on their lack of freedom where it is a question of the bestowal of love, on their part.

One of the earliest, purely egoistic emotions (*Gemütsbewe-*

ungen) of the child is fear. It is born of intelligence conjoined with imagination (*Phantasie*). If the former confines itself, with the infant, to the most primitive association-processes, and if the work of the imagination is scarcely perceptible to the onlookers because of the lack of a word-language, nevertheless there must be present in his consciousness, idea-associations and at least some faintest trace of feeling-perceptions (*Vorstellungen*), before he can have a sense of fear. It is striking that everything new seems to excite unpleasant feelings in the infant's mind, feelings which express an instinctive apprehension (*Ahnung*) of possible evil. Next to the fear of novelty (*Neophobie*), it is fear of the dark that is especially characteristic of the child. But this fear hardly (*noch selten*) appears in the first year; although it is just at this age that—in consequence of the widespread custom of allowing the infant to share the sleeping-room of his parents—the foundation for the fear is laid. This is something which I will discuss later in detail. Still earlier than the fear of the dark appears the fear of being punished; it lies at the root of the sense of guilt which is so common, and sets in in conjunction with the power of memory. The infant's tendency to shrink in fear from the hand ready to strike him indicates, not alone an instinctive defence, but points to very complicated thought-processes. But the fear of punishment is not without the masochistic component of pleasure (*Wollustkomponent*). By repeating forbidden acts the child formally challenges punishment for the same. The pain caused him by the blow, which as a rule is scarcely more than a rather hard "love-pat," is frequently felt as but slight when measured against the pleasure derived from the excitation of the erogenous zones that are concerned, the nates and the palms of the hands (*Gesäss und Handflächen*); the more so that, as a rule, it is only because of the severe expression of countenance and the accompanying cross words (scolding) of the person inflicting the punishment that the infant is able to discover that the treatment which he has received is meant as anything but a display of tenderness; and it is only the recognition of this fact that releases the crying and screaming.

VI. DREAMS (DIE TRÄUME)

Since speech, the most effective means of making oneself understood, is entirely lacking to the child in the first year of life, or else is employed merely in the form of a few sounds and words used for designating the persons and things in his immediate en-

vironment, it is impossible to gain any really deep knowledge of his mental life during sleep. We can only conclude from certain movements and sounds (Lall-Lauten), that even at this stage of development sleep does not pass dreamless. It would be justifiable to regard the movements as reflex and nothing else, if they did not carry in themselves quite often very clearly the character of something which is "willed." When a sleeping infant is seen to be making well-defined movements, as if for the purpose of grasping objects and feeling of them, and when these movements are accompanied by a smile or by loud laughter, by wrinkling of the forehead as if for crying, or by little sounds of anger—then it may surely be taken for granted that the child is dreaming. When a ten-months-old child who shows such a strong affection for the new nurse-maid that, from her advent on, he will let no one else attend to his bodily needs, and lets out his warning-call of "Ah-Ah!" every day before he wakes, and then is found in a soiled condition; it is permissible to see in this performance the same mechanism that determines the "dreams of convenience" of later childhood years. Such an older child dreams, for instance, that the necessary preparations for meeting his wants have been made; and by means of this self-delusion the Unconscious is made to win for the child an excuse for doing something that he is not allowed and would not allow himself to do when he is awake,¹ a deed which draws punishment in its wake. Just so, through dream-license, the infant deceives himself as to the order of his acts in point of time, so that he calls for help only when he has already relieved his needs. I cannot subscribe to the objection that the child, at this early age, has not the intelligence for drawing conclusions so complicated, and that he is waked out of sleep simply by the feeling of being wet and uncomfortable. When one considers how witty the most circumscribed, how imaginative the most matter-of-fact adult shows himself at times, in dreams, one is fully justified in claiming that thought-processes such as we have shown reason for accepting as belonging to the infant's waking-life, are not absent in the dream, just because it shows forbidden wishes as gratified. The wish-fulfilment to which the dream of the adult leads—indeed, even that of the older child—but only by way of long and winding paths, as permitted and mapped out by the censor, appears in an undisguised form in the case of the very little child. While having his after-

¹ Namely, to pass water, etc., as in bed-wetting. The whole sentence has been slightly amplified. [Trans.]

noon nap, an eleven-months-old boy who had received his first whip, made evident movements as if snapping it and tried with lips and tongue to imitate the clucking-sounds which he had heard from adults under similar conditions, by giving a low "Hit-hit." A little girl just under one year old, who on being taken to the country had spent much of her first day in splashing in a watering-trough, repeated those movements during her sleep on the night following, and laughed happily as she did so. Smacking the lips during sleep likewise indicates obviously agreeable dream-thoughts, and probably harks back to the pleasures of the sucking-habit. And since we know that whip-interests point to the presence of sadistic desires and that the great fondness of children for water points to a strongly developed urethral erotism, it is obvious that such dreams as those cited might, if carefully studied, prove a valuable contribution to the subject of dream-interpretation. It may be, for example, that muscle-erotism of high grade could be shown to be perhaps the most important basis for the "stair-case dreams" which appear as early as in the third quarter of the first year of life, as is to be inferred from the jerk-like start of the body and from the anxious expression of the face during sleep. Such a study would probably make it appear certain, also, that during the stage prior to speech, the latent dream-content is seldom without a sexual or erotic motive; and how, with the very little child, the dream-content is really not concealed, but comes to light without disguise, just as experienced and felt. The study of children's dreams would make clear why certain dream-experiences follow us through our entire life with such persistence (*Zähigkeit*); I refer to the dreams of vast surfaces of water, of plunging headlong down an endless flight of stairs, also to the exhibition-dreams in which the dreamer, lightly dressed or not at all, shows himself in a crowd of people, to his own painful embarrassment. These last-named dreams, indeed, reflect accurately the wishes of small children while asleep. For the close wrapping up to which the infant is subjected before the night begins,² is done for the³ very purpose of preventing exposure during sleep; it is directed especially to keeping the lower portions of the body covered, the head and face being sufficiently protected by the pillow.

(To be continued)

² And from which *confinement* he longs to free himself. [Trans.]

³ Here the original text seems to have a tinge of sarcasm as indicated by the words "keinen anderen Zweck"—"um so mehr"—"stets." [Trans.]

CRITICAL REVIEW

THE SIGNIFICANCE FOR PSYCHOTHERAPY OF CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL GRADIENTS AND THE DYNAMIC DIFFERENTIATION OF THE HEAD REGION

BY WILLIAM A. WHITE

"What is more real than a wish in the heart of man?"

In preparing my article, *Individuality and Introversion*,¹ in which I discuss the problem of individuality from the psychological point of view I was attracted to Professor Child's discussion of the problem of the physiological individual as set forth in a paper published in *Science*.² Since the appearance of this paper I have secured Professor Child's other works on this subject, namely his little work *Individuality in Organisms*³ and his larger work *Senescence and Rejuvenescence*.⁴ A careful going over of his work as set forth in these publications has convinced me that I needed to modify my views about the place of the psyche in development and also shown me wherein I have expressed myself in my writings in a way that was at least misleading. The modification of my views as heretofore expressed seems to me so important and fits in so admirably with much that has issued as a result of psychotherapeutic experience and seems also to have such a fundamental importance for that branch of therapy that I am prompted to set them forth here. First, of course, it is necessary to outline briefly Professor Child's views as developed in his works cited. I will take up, for the most part, only those matters which pertain to the subjects indicated in the title to this article, for he discusses, especially in *Senescence and Rejuvenescence*, many other issues of importance.

He sets out to discover what constitutes a living or organic individual—what is at the basis of its unity and the orderliness of its

¹ THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW, January, 1917.

² The Basis of Physiological Individuality in *Organisms*, *Science*, April 14, 1916.

³ Published in the University of Chicago Science Series.

⁴ Published by the University of Chicago Press.

behavior. The structure of an individual is purely a matter of anatomy, it is the orderly integration of the structural elements which remains to be accounted for. In other words it is not the static but the dynamic individual that needs defining. After a review of the several theories he discards them all, even the more recent physico-chemical theories which see in chemical transportation the fundamental element in physiological correlation. While chemical correlation is without doubt a factor it is only possible in an already existing individual in which some sort of order already exists. Any adequate theory of the individual must therefore be dynamic and deal with processes rather than with structures. Contrary to the assumption of biologists who believed that physiological individuality was inherent in protoplasm and dependent upon a self-determined organization he sees physiological individuality as a function of the relation between protoplasm and its environment.

The nature of the integrating factor of relationship he arrives at by assuming first a bit of undifferentiated protoplasm. Now let a difference at some point in the environment act as a stimulus at a given point at the surface of this protoplasm. The immediate result is an increase in activity at this point, which dynamic effect is not limited to the point of contact but tends to spread in ever widening waves of decreased energy much like the waves which result when a stone is thrown into a quiet pond.

As the wave of activity spreads it successively acts as stimulus so that the wave represents the spread of the increased activity originally set in operation by the stimulus from the environment. As it spreads, too, there is a constant decrement in its effectiveness, so that a dynamic gradient is established, the point of greatest intensity or highest rate of activity being the point of incidence of the original stimulus. A passing stimulus produces only a passing gradient, while a long continued, or often repeated, or very strong stimulus, or all combined, tends in proportion to these several qualities, to establish permanent changes in the protoplasm along the path of the increased activity. The dynamic gradient tends to become persistent and consists fundamentally in a change in reactivity, irritability of the protoplasm. Finally this dynamic, or irritability or metabolic gradient, as it really is because here tissue changes go on most rapidly, becomes the starting point of a permanent quantitative order in the protoplasm or a physiological axis of the simplest form of individual. This first order to arise is the chief, polar, or major axis, while similar orders developed later determine minor axes and on the basis of these is established the symmetry of the individual.

This matter of symmetry has been largely discussed in the past. Spencer in his *Principles of Biology*⁵ has devoted a great deal of space to it and concluded that it was a function of the relation of the animal or plant to its environment. For example, an animal moving through water will, by that very fact, expose its forward end to the operation of forces quite different from those to which the other end is exposed and so it tends to become different. Thus begins a polar differentiation which results, other things remaining equal, in radial symmetry. Now if one surface is always uppermost and the other lowermost a further differentiation will ensue resulting in a bilateral symmetry. This is precisely the state of affairs and the result which Child sees when he points out the results of a stimulus applied to an undifferentiated bit of protoplasm. There results what he calls a dynamic gradient which gradient if maintained ultimately becomes one of the axes of the individual, all of which are arranged in various degrees of subordination to the major axis. It is such an arrangement about a major axis which is the fundamental fact of the physiological individual, according to Child, a conclusion reminiscent of Spencer's, who considered the individual as "any center or axis that is independently carrying on that continuous adjustment of inner to outer relations which constitutes life."⁶

The methods of experimentation which Child used will be only briefly mentioned. They are significant for the purposes of this paper because they serve to write large the stated conclusions and to make their fundamental soundness more evident.

The experimental work was done for the most part with freshwater planarians, particularly the *Planaria dorotocephala*, *P. maculata*, and the *P. velata*. The experimental animals were subjected to immersion in solutions of various strengths of potassium cyanide. If the solution is strong enough to kill without acclimation but still not so strong but that the differences in susceptibility may appear clearly, it will be found that death begins at the head and proceeds posteriorly and that the lateral margins die before the median region, thus proceeding along the axial (metabolic) gradients; and as between different groups of worms disintegration begins earlier and proceeds more rapidly in the younger than in the older worms, that is, in the worms having the highest rate of metabolism. The susceptibility rate therefore varies directly as the metabolic rate.

⁵ Vol. II.

⁶ *Principles of Biology*, Vol. I.

If a concentration of cyanide is used which does not kill the animals directly but permits of a certain degree of acclimation it will be noted that the relation between the survival time and rate of metabolism is the opposite of that when the solution kills. Under these circumstances the younger animals, that is, those with the higher rate of metabolism, live the longer, while it is the older who die first. Here again degree of susceptibility corresponds to rate of metabolism.

Such is the nature of the experimental work which demonstrates the existence of a dynamic gradient and which thus refutes the hypothesis that the unity and the order in an organism is dependent upon the transportation of substances, in other words, consists in chemical correlations. Rather the correlation is dynamic and dominance is dependent upon transmitted change or excitation from the region of highest metabolic rate—the head region. The nature and the accumulation of substances in the different parts of the body are, therefore, not dependent upon their transportation, but upon their relative stability in relation to the metabolic rate of the particular part. In general only the most stable substances can accumulate in regions of high metabolic rate, while substances of less stability may exist where the rate is lower so that each level, so to speak, of the gradient comes to be characterized by certain substances, and qualitative differences in the different parts of the gradient arise, characterized by specific substances. As Child well says, chemical transportation cannot account for the origin of the individual, because some sort of an individual, as such, must exist, having some sort of orderly relation between its parts, before chemical correlation between those parts can take place. From this point of view, therefore, hormones which have sprung into such prominence in the last few years become of secondary importance relatively to the nervous system, which in its relation to other parts is “the final expression of relation which is the foundation and starting point of organic individuation.”⁷

I have already pointed out how and why an animal tends to develop differences in the different parts of the body because of, and dependent upon, the different relation of these parts to the environment. How, for example, a uniform bit of protoplasm by the mere fact of its movement through water would develop a difference in the extremity which came first and most intensively in contact with the environment—the head end. To put it differently—a mass of

⁷ *Individuality in Organisms*, p. 48.

protoplasm without an axis becomes the recipient of a stimulus. The first result of such a stimulus⁸ would be an increase in the metabolic rate at the point stimulated and this change in rate would tend to radiate from that point like the waves on a pond from the point where a stone has been thrown in. Immediately the bit of protoplasm has an axis, the important characteristic of which is that the metabolic rate is highest at the point of the application of the stimulus and tends to decrease in direct proportion to the distance therefrom. The limit of effectiveness of the transmission varies in accordance with the strength of the stimulus and the nature of the transmitting material (protoplasm). The bearing of this matter of the effectiveness of transmission, or rather the distance of transmission, upon reproduction is very well shown in the case of the *Planaria dorotocephala*.⁹ This flatworm undergoes from time to time a species of agamic reproduction by fission. The rear end of the body (posterior zooid) fails to be controlled by the anterior end, attaches itself to the ground as the worm crawls forward, and holds fast while the forward end tries to go ahead. The substance between gets thinner and thinner and finally breaks. The posterior zooid, now separated from the control of the anterior end, proceeds to develop a head of its own and to become a complete worm.

To revert to the transmission of energy from the point of stimulation. If the same character of stimulus is repeatedly applied to the same portion of the animal; if, for example, the animal keeps thrusting the same part of its body forward into the environment, then the protoplasm along the lines of the transmission of energy from the stimulus will tend to organize into a chemico-physical equilibrium with the rate of energy change. In other words substances will tend to accumulate at the different levels of the gradient which are in dynamic equilibrium with the energy transmission at those levels—the gradient becomes organized.

Not only is the principle of the organization of the gradient visible in the processes briefly outlined in this illustration, but another principle of as great importance comes out with equal clearness, namely that structure is organized function, or, as Bergson would perhaps put it, structure is the organization of the past, or, organization is the structuralization of function or of the past. From this point of view the nervous system, as a structuralized dynamic gradient or as an organized system of relations between the parts of the organism, is given a new meaning.

⁸ Individuality in Organisms, p. 30 et seq.

⁹ Senescence and Rejuvenescence, Ch. VI.

Now of course, as Child has very well shown in the simpler organisms, an individual has many gradients. Among the simpler individuals these are expressed in the various axes of symmetry. Among the higher animals each organ would have a dominant gradient of its own and probably many subordinate ones, while the total interplay of forces in the individual can be visualized as playing along the axes of these multitudinous gradients, now reinforcing, now inhibiting, according as their energy rate is mutually assimilable or not, all of this great number of gradients held in an orderly organization because of mutual relations of dominance and dependence and all in the last analysis under the final domination of the gradient of highest metabolic rate, which in turn is dominated by its region of highest metabolic rate—the head end.

From this presentation it is easy to see how erroneous is the ordinary way of thinking of the dominance of the head end of the body. It is quite usual to conceive of the psyche, for example, as if it were a concrete entity which made its entrance upon the stage at some particular point in evolution—the only question is just when? Many people say that an animal cannot reason, has no soul (psyche), or even that children have no souls or are only little animals, while in the Orient, as is well known, woman is supposed to be without a soul. Aside from these rather crude ideas, however, there seems to be a wide feeling that evolution has taken place, so to speak, by a series of superpositions and that finally a head and then a psyche were added (evolved). From my presentation thus far it will be seen how far this is from the truth. There never was an organism, no matter how simple, how far down the line of evolution, but had a head end. The organism did not first develop as a group of organs and *then* develop a centralized control and coördination of those organs, but the development of the centralized control and coördination went along *with* the development of the organs. A moment's consideration will serve to convince one that this must have been so, inasmuch as the function of the various organs is in large part to serve the organism as a whole. No such service could be rendered without organization, and centralized authority is the basis of organization. The history of the head end, the head, the psyche, then reaches as far back as the history of life itself, in fact is co-terminous with that of life. All the forces which have been operating to produce the developed organism have also been operative in producing the developed head control.

The bearing of this formulation upon the whole problem of

psychotherapy is evident, particularly if considered from the point of view of organ inferiority as set forth by Adler. Adler traces the symptoms of the psychoneuroses to their foundation in an inferior organ. The inferior organ produces in the individual a feeling of insecurity and causes him to develop those dexterities, he calls them, which help to overcome that feeling. The individual, therefore, instead of being free to deal with reality, develops a fictitious goal, the goal of safety, and the symptoms of the neuroses may be described and understood as a flight to safety.

The dexterities which the neurotic develops to overcome his feeling of inferiority are essentially psychological in origin so that the organ inferiority is discounted, so to speak, by the compensatory overvaluation of its psychomotor superstructure.

Here then is the rational basis for psychotherapy from the Adlerian viewpoint. The compensatory mechanisms being essentially psychic, the therapeutic approach is naturally from this angle. It may be noted in passing, however, that Adler practically limits his psychotherapeutic attack to psychoneurotic types of illness.

From the point of view of dynamic gradients as developed by Child, however, the problem of psychotherapy assumes somewhat different aspects. Adler's psychology, based upon his study of inferior organs, fails just as does the psychology which I have criticized, in assuming, by implication, at least, that the psyche is something which has been superposed upon the body in the last stages of evolution. For example, he details the effects of an inferior organ *upon* the psyche, as if soma and psyche were two different things, as if they were not simply different aspects of the same biological unity—the individual—and had been from the beginning.

From Child's point of view the main dynamic gradient—the central nervous axis—is the structuralized evidence of the degree of correlation of the several organs and to the degree that the body is under the control of the head end of this gradient the organ is inferior rather because of failure to coördinate, that is, failure of the dynamic gradient to control, than because of any *inherent* defect in the organ as such. From this point of view the importance of the head end receives a new interpretation and a much deeper significance. Failure to keep in touch with the center of control leads to disintegration of the individual, either in the direction of reproduction, as already illustrated, or in the direction of some definitely pathological process, well illustrated by the phenomena of tumor formation. Then too, the possibilities of psychotherapy, it would

seem, are vastly greater, no longer limited to the restricted territory of the psychoneuroses, but presenting possibilities in the realm of the recognized organic conditions. This latter is quite in harmony with actual accomplishments of psychoanalysis and with the best thought which is developing in the field of internal medicine. For example, one hears on every hand of the influence of "nervousness" in all sorts of illnesses. Many diseases today are recognized by the respective specialists to depend, in no small measure, upon "nervous" causes, in which, a generation ago, no such etiology would have been thought of. It remains for psychoanalysis to work out the practical psychological mechanisms that are involved in these cases. No one who has had experience can doubt but that the possibilities for the future loom large.

In bringing this presentation to a close there is just one correlation to which I will call attention, because it seems to me to afford such an illuminating and helpful illustration of the nature of many at least of our psychoanalytic problems.

Child is not altogether willing to admit with Lillie, Loeb, Driesch, Schultz and others that development in animals is a reversible process. Inasmuch, however, as the complexities which have been built up by the process of differentiation may be disintegrated by the process that he calls dedifferentiation, he believes the process of development is regressible. Differentiation is progression, and dedifferentiation regression, but perhaps through stages very different from the stages of progression, therefore the term regressible is preferable to reversible.

Differentiation is the process of growth, specialization, morphogenesis and leads to senescence and death, while the process of dedifferentiation is accompanied by physiological rejuvenescence. In other words, the process of growth, differentiation, specialization, or better the accumulation of function as structure, the structuralization of function, is accompanied by a gradual slowing down of activity, of the metabolic rate. This is well shown in the planarian worms. Starvation brings about a dedifferentiation in old worms. Now when these worms are fed again they show by all tests that they have become younger. In the same way Child shows by many examples that organic reproduction is preceded by dedifferentiation. For example, the formation of so-called adventitious buds may take place in *Begonia* from the epithelial cells of the leaf. The epithelial cells are highly differentiated, but before the buds are formed they lose their differentiated characters and resume an embryonic condition—they dedifferentiate.

In analyzing the process of reconstitution in *Planaria dorotocephala* Child found that a whole series of animals could be experimentally produced from pieces which presented at one extreme a normal head and at the other extreme were headless. Experiment proved that the head-frequency was dependent upon different degrees of retardation or inhibition of the metabolic rate. By immersing the pieces in weak solutions of cyanides and narcotics the head-frequency could be accurately reduced in proportion to the strength of the solution. It was proven, too, that a head developed at the end of the piece which in the original worm was nearest the head (apical) and that the amount of dedifferentiation was greater for the production of a head than when a head was not produced. Many other equally interesting points were brought out. Such experiments confirmed by many others show again that the head end is the place of highest rate of metabolic change and therefore is not only the controlling factor in the organization, but the most modifiable, a conclusion which seems to be of the greatest significance for psychotherapy.

Of special interest for psychotherapy, aside from the proof of the supreme importance of the head end, is the phenomenon of dedifferentiation. This phenomenon is what we are actually dealing with all the time in our efforts to reconstruct our patients. The energy bound up in bad habits of thinking and feeling cannot be used for constructive ends until those habits are first destroyed, thus releasing the energy so that it can be used for a new structure. This is precisely the phenomenon of dedifferentiation. We cannot build a new house from the bricks of an old one without first tearing down the old structure so as to render the bricks available.

And finally, Child's work emphasizes in a way that seems to me most pertinent to present-day issues, the supremacy of the head end. This supremacy is naturally of the first importance to the fundamental issues of a scientifically grounded psychotherapy. This branch of therapeutics need no longer be arbitrarily limited to dealing with certain so-called functional disturbances of obvious psychological origin. It is apparent that no such limitation of its activities can any longer be demanded. The extent to which what are now believed to be organic conditions can be influenced through the psyche remains to be worked out in actual situations. Such work must no longer be prevented because of the prejudices of preconceived opinions without adequate facts to base them upon.

As I have already indicated, the extent to which the various

medical specialists are going in giving credence to "nervous" causes as of importance in their several domains is encouraging and would have been unbelievable a generation ago. Such causes are now well recognized in a large number of gastro-intestinal conditions and are being dimly perceived as of importance in certain cardiac and renal disorders. I have elsewhere indicated¹⁰ how the metabolism of organs might be disturbed by psychic causes and a number of authors have made similar observations in other fields. A clearer understanding of the possibilities will ensue when the physiology of the internal secretions and the vegetative nervous system shall have been better worked out, on the one hand, and, on the other, when there shall be a better understanding of the nature and meaning of the unconscious. With the knowledge from these two main sources it will be possible to work towards defining the extent to which the head control may be utilized and the degree of modifiability, dedifferentiation, which may safely be brought about, because as we ascend the scale of animal evolution the degree of dedifferentiation consistent with life becomes progressively less. I am convinced that the possibilities of psychotherapy are on the verge of a material enlargement. We are very close to a perception of the truth of the query with which I headed this paper—

"What is more real than a wish in the heart of man?"

The wish bids fair to become the unit of the new dynamic psychology, thus replacing the sensation, which has held sway too long as a unit.¹¹

The wish is the psychological aspect of the set of the whole integrated individual, it gives final expression to the trend, the tendency which seeks to express itself in action¹² along some certain line. When we come to realize the multitudinous components, physico-chemical, neuro-muscular, visceral, psychic, the integration of which the wish is the final expression, we will be in a position to glimpse the possibilities of a scientific psychotherapy, for we will then realize that what we call disease is not an evil which invades the body from without, but is itself, in what we call its organic manifestations, structuralized function. We will then realize that

¹⁰ White, W. A., *Mechanisms of Character Formation*. Published by Macmillan and Company.

¹¹ Holt, E. B., *The Freudian Wish*. Published by Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1915.

¹² White, W. A., *The Mechanism of Transference*, *THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, October, 1917.

the causes of diseases are, as often as not, within, and that destructive emotions, hate, anxiety, fear, may so persistently invade and dominate the organism that their reactions may come to be laid down in its structure.

It was De Bay who said that it was the plant that made cells and not the cells that made the plant.¹³ This expresses well the concept of Child. We are constructed of organs. Organs do not grow independently any more than plant cells and then become integrated into an organism. They rather represent the structuralized functions of the organism. In the same way why can we not have structuralized fear, structuralized hate, structuralized anxiety, structuralized greed, etc.

It is not my object in this paper to dwell upon the possibilities, but only to point out the very great importance for psychotherapy if this viewpoint in biology should prevail. The study of mental disorders would then easily become the most important branch of medicine.

¹³ Cited by Thompson, D. W., *Magnalia Naturæ*; or the Greater Problems of Biology, Science, October 6, 1911.

ABSTRACTS

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1. Contributions to Psychology of Love; Concerning a Special Type of Object Choice in Man. SIGM. FREUD.
2. The Theories of Organ Inferiority and of Bi-Sexuality in Their Relation to the Neuroses. GASTON ROSENSTEIN.
3. Concerning Urethral-Erotism. DR. J. SADGER.
4. The Analysis of Egmont's Dream. DR. PHIL. ALFRED ROBITSEK.
5. A Dream That Explains Itself. OTTO RANK.
6. Fantasy and Fable. HERBERT SILBERER.
7. The Psychoanalysis of Freud. PROF. BLEULER.
8. Report of the Second Private Psychoanalytical Conference in Nuremberg on March 30 and 31, 1910. OTTO RANK.
9. Concerning Criticism of Psychoanalysis. DR. C. G. JUNG.

1. *Contributions to Psychology of Love*.—In the past we have allowed poets to show us under what conditions humanity makes its love-choice, and how it coördinates its desires with reality. It is true poets have certain characteristics which fit them for this problem, preëminently, their fine sensibilities for the apperception of hidden motives. They also possess courage to let their unconscious speak, however the value of their product is diminished by the fact that poets are constrained to produce certain intellectually and esthetically pleasant emotions. They, therefore, cannot reproduce the material which they have obtained from reality without a change, but must isolate portions of it, remove certain disturbing factors and tone down the whole. These are the privileges of the so-called poetic license. As a result, it becomes necessary for science with very much rougher hands and at the sacrifice of much of the esthetic result to work with the same material. Thus, Freud justifies the strictly scientific attitude which he desires to introduce into a consideration of the love-life of human beings; for he says: "Science is the most complete deliverance from the pleasure principle of which our psychic work is capable." During the psychanalytic treatment of neurotics one often has an opportunity to gain an insight into their

love-life and one realizes that their behavior differs very slightly from those whom one considers normal and healthy, or even from the behavior of famous men. As a result of his impressions gained from a large number of cases, the latter tend to fall into definite types. His object here is to discuss one of these types for whom the conditions of falling in love is strange, in fact repellant, but which at the same time is capable of a very simple psychanalytic explanation.

I. The first of these conditions he characterizes as almost specific, for as soon as one finds this condition one can look for the other characteristics of this group. This condition could be called that of the "damaged third." Its content is that the man never chooses a woman as a love object, who is free—in other words, the girl or woman who is unappropriated—but only a woman upon whom some other man, as husband, fiancé, or friend, has a possessive right. This condition is in some cases so necessary that the same woman who was previously overlooked or even repulsed, while detached, immediately became the object of love when she fulfilled the above-named requirement.

II. The second condition is less constant but just as striking. An individual can only be included as one of this type if the two conditions are present. For at times the first condition occurs without the second. The second condition is that the virgin or woman who is free from suspicion never exerts the charm which makes of her a love object, but those women who are suspected and in whose fidelity and trustworthiness a doubt may enter can become objects of their love. This characteristic can vary in degree from the slightest suspicion attached to the flirtatious woman, to the publicly acknowledged polygamous life of the demi-monde. He calls this condition prostitute love. Just as the first condition gives an opportunity for satisfying the feelings of enmity against the man from whom this type desires to tear away the loved object, thus in the same way the second condition, that of the prostitution of the woman, gives an opportunity for feelings of jealousy, which seems to be a necessity for this type of man. It is only when their jealousy is aroused that their passion reaches its height and the woman becomes an object of value. This type never misses an occurrence which can inflame this feeling within them. One remarkable fact is that jealousy is never directed against the rightful possessor of the loved one but to the stranger with whom one can bring the loved one in suspicion. In marked cases of this type the man has no desire to possess the woman alone and slips quite comfortably into the "triangle." One of Freud's patients who had suffered terribly as a result of the faithlessness of his beloved did not resent her marriage, in fact he facilitated it by every means in his power and for many years he did not evince a trace of jealousy for her husband.

Freud next portrays the behavior of the man towards the object of his choice. In the love-life of the normal individual the value of a

woman is determined, in part, by her sexual integrity and is correspondingly diminished in proportion as she approaches the prostitute. It appears, therefore, a great deviation from the normal that the men of this group consider women of the latter character as most valuable. Their relations to these women are pursued with an expenditure of psychic energy which may reach a point ranging above all other interests; they are the only persons whom they can love; they demand that the woman be true to them and renew this demand no matter how often it is broken in reality. This phase of the relations has stamped upon it its compulsive character, which, of course, in every case of love reaches a certain degree. One cannot, however, expect, on a basis of the intensity and fidelity of such bonds, that only a single such affair takes place in the life of the individual. On the contrary, such affairs of passion with the same peculiarities recur in the life of individuals belonging to this type. In fact, depending upon the change in their environment, such affairs can be repeated indefinitely.

The most astonishing factor in men of this type is their desire to redeem the woman; the man is convinced that the loved one needs him; that without him she would lose every moral hold upon herself, and would sink to the lowest possible level. He redeems her always by not deserting her. In certain cases, the man justifies his motives and actions by the sexual infidelity or the social position of the loved object; but even where such conditions are not present, this tendency is also manifest. One man of this type who had seduced the object of his love in the most artful manner did not deprive himself of the pleasure of attempting her redemption after the liaison had commenced, by sending her tracts on virtue.

When one considers the various characteristics of the type here discussed; the necessity that the loved one should be bound to some one else and that she should have some of the characteristics of the prostitute; the high value they place on these; their need for jealousy; their faithfulness, which at the same time is not inconsistent with a number of such affairs; their tendency to redeem the loved object, one cannot see how all these can possibly be the result of one cause. But a psychoanalytic investigation into the history of such people shows that this peculiarity of their choice of a love object and their relations to it have the same psychic origin as the love-life of the normal individual. They arise from the infantile fixation on the tenderness of the mother and represent one of the possible results of such a fixation.

In the normal love-life we have but few traits which beyond doubt betray the maternal prototype of our object choice; for instance, the preference of younger men for older women which occurs when the libido has been separated from the mother too rapidly. In this type, however, the libido with the advent of puberty remains too long a time fixed on the mother, so that loved objects subsequently chosen retain

the characteristics of the mother and all loved objects are plainly seen to be substitutes for her. Freud here draws the comparison with the head of a child whose mother has had a long labor; the shape of the child's head for some time after birth retains the character of the maternal birth canal.

Freud then goes on to prove that the characteristic marks of this type: namely, the conditions under which love can take place and the relations between the lovers, are a derivation of the maternal constellation. This is easiest for the first condition—that of the lack of freedom of the woman, or the condition of the “damaged third.” It is plain that the child in growing up must realize that the mother belongs to the father, and that this condition of bondage becomes inseparable from the concept “mother.” The “damaged third” is always, therefore, the father. We likewise see that the hyper-valuation of the loved one, that she is the only one, the irreplaceable one, belongs to the infantile concept; for no one has this characteristic more than the mother, and one's relation to her rests on an unquestionable basis and on a condition which cannot be repeated.

If the objects of the love of this type of man are a substitute for the mother, the habit of turning from one woman to another which seems so to contradict his desire for fidelity becomes clear; for psychoanalysis has shown through other examples that the irreplaceable in the unconscious often manifests itself in the conscious as a succession of similar and unending actions, because every substitute does not achieve the desired satisfaction. In a similar way he explains the irrepressible questions of children at certain ages, on a basis that they cannot ask the *one* question which they *would most like* to ask. The loquacity of certain neurotic persons is also due to the fact that they have in their unconscious a secret which craves expression, but which, in spite of that desire, never comes into the light of day.

On the other hand, the second condition of their loving, that of the prostituted character of the chosen object, seems to be in direct opposition to the theory that it is derived from the mother complex. To the conscious thinking of an adult the mother appears as one of irreproachable purity, and nothing shocks us more than a doubt concerning this virtue of the mother. It is precisely this relationship of the extreme opposites, that of mother and prostitute, which stimulated Freud to investigate the evolution and the relation in the unconscious of these two complexes, especially as he believed that in the unconscious there often exists a single concept which in the conscious mind is split into two opposites. Such an investigation led him back to that period of a boy's youth when he first learns of the sexual relationship between adults, probably the pre-adolescent years. The boy is given brutal information concerning the secrets of the sexual life with its tendency to disgust him and at the same time to destroy the authority of the

adult. That which influences and moves the boy deeply is the application of these new found facts to his own parents, and often the boy responds with the following words: "It is possible that your parents and other people do such things, but it is simply impossible that mine should."

A frequent corollary of this information is the knowledge that there exist certain women who make of sexual intercourse a means of livelihood and, because of their depravity, are universally despised. He himself does not share this aversion. On the contrary, there arises in him for these unfortunate women a mixture of desire and horror, when he finds that we can be introduced to sexual experience through them, an experience which formerly was the exclusive right of grown-ups. The time then comes when he can no longer retain his doubt that his parents do not belong to the usual people who do these hateful things, and he says, therefore, with cynical correctness, that the difference between his mother and the prostitute is not so great, since basically they do the same thing. This illuminating information, Freud thinks, reanimates memories of his early infantile impressions and wishes and stirs up certain latent or dormant instincts within him to activity. He begins unconsciously to desire the mother in this new way and considers the father as his rival; he begins to hate him anew, and passes, as we say, under the domination of the Oedipus complex. He does not forget it but looks upon it as an infidelity that she does not give him the right of sexual intercourse, but concedes it to the father. These impulses, if they are not quickly put aside, can have no other outlet except in fantasy; these fantasies all have as their content the most manifold of sexual relations with the mother; and in these fantasies the tension often leads the boy to masturbatory acts. As the result of the constant interplay of the two driving motives, desire and revenge, the fantasies of the mother's infidelity are the most frequent; the lover with whom the mother is unfaithful almost always is stamped with the characteristics of the dreamer's ego—more properly speaking, of an idealized ego which has grown to the same level as the father. Freud thinks that this view of the development of some personalities makes clear that the contradictory and incomprehensible condition of the prostitute-like character necessary for their loved object is derived from the mother complex. This type of masculine love-life shows experiences in itself of this evolution, and is explicable only as a fixation of the adolescent fantasies of the boy, which later in life have found their satisfaction in reality.

These fantasies, in their attempt to realize themselves in active life, seem only to have a loose and superficial connection with the tendency to redeem the loved one. The loved one exposes herself to danger through her inclination to infidelity. It is therefore understandable that the lover attempts to shield her by guarding her virtue and counter-

acting her evil tendencies. But the study of their "cover-memories," fantasies, and night dreams, shows that we have here a beautiful bit of rationalization of an unconscious motive. In reality, the redemption motive has its own significance and is an independent derivative of the mother or better parent complex. When the child learns that it owes its life to its parents, that the mother has given him his life, there arise in him tendencies conjointly tender and grandiose which have as their object the establishment of his independence, and give rise to the wish to compensate the parents for this gift by giving them something of equal value. Very often this takes the form of a fantasy to save the father from some position of jeopardy, and Freud thinks that in this fantasy there is often substituted for the father the kaiser or king, and as such it enters into consciousness and is acted upon. The grandiose aspect of this tendency is manifested more often to the father, its tender aspect towards the mother. The mother has given the child life, and it is not an easy thing to return something of equal value for this priceless gift.

With very little change in the significance of an idea, which is very much easier in the unconscious, the rescue of the mother takes on the significance of giving her, or of conceiving a child with her—naturally a child similar to one's self. Freud then shows that this change in conception from the original idea of rescue is not too great and is not forced, by explaining it as follows: If the mother has given one's life to one, therefore what one gives her is another which shall have the greatest possible similarity to one's self. The son shows his gratitude by wishing to have a son through his mother who is like himself; in other words, in the rescue fantasy he identifies himself with the father. In this way all instincts, the tender, the grateful, the lustful, the insubordinate, at once achieve their realization through the satisfaction of one's wish to be his own father. Even the element of danger is reserved in this change, the act of birth being the danger from which one is rescued by the labor of the mother; for birth is the very first danger in life and it is the prototype of all subsequent events from which we feel fear. Experience of being born, Freud thinks, probably has left us with that affect which we call *fear*. He cites Macduff, who, according to a Scottish myth, was delivered by Cæsarian section, and for that reason was fearless. Freud closes the article by asserting that his method of setting up types needs no justification, since he has picked out the extreme and sharply circumscribed types in order to found them. The greater majority of individuals show various fantasies of these types, some even in blurred form, and he thinks it is clear that only by first taking up the marked examples of a class can one get an understanding of the isolated fantasies in individuals.

2. *Theories of Organ Inferiority and of Bi-Sexuality in their Relation to the Neuroses.*—The manifold results of the psychoanalytic re-

searches of Freud and his pupils in the understanding of the normal and diseased psyche have been so important, especially for the therapy of the neuroses, that the general question of disposition to an abnormal psychic condition was left somewhere in the background. The blame for this is probably due to the hazy and confused concepts that have obtained concerning psychopathic degeneration and constitutional weaknesses of the nervous system which were used to explain all nervous and psychic diseases.

Freud's etiology of the neuroses, based upon the conflict between the sexual instincts and the repressing tendencies of the ego, marks a great advance. At the same time, a great reaction was produced against the former theories of hereditary influences which had a static influence on the therapy of these conditions. Since that time, however, there have been two attempts to get a better understanding of the organic causes of the neuroses, one by Adler and the other by Fliess. Both these approach the problem from different aspects; both desire different results but still travel in parallel lines. It is most interesting that the observations which have been made in these two investigations, first the universal bi-sexuality of everything organic, and secondly, organic inferiority as a foundation of a number of the manifestations of life, have that in common which allows them to be placed in a biologic whole. Fliess starts from the premise of the bi-sexual disposition of every human being. He shows that the changes in this primary disposition towards the one or the other sex, when not complete, give rise to variations in the degree of sexual development. This lack of development he calls degeneration. In fact, he sees in degeneration a derangement of the masculine and feminine qualities. Fliess ascribes to beings of this "middle kingdom" a number of diseases such as diabetes, hernia, gout, hemorrhoids, even tuberculosis of the lungs and appendicitis, which he registers as an empiric fact, but not as an etiological factor.

On the other hand, Adler has attempted to formulate human pathology. The same diseases which Fliess ascribes to the "middle kingdom" receive a new explanation on the basis of Adler's study of organ inferiority. The etiology here is a congenital inferiority of single or several organs which is hereditary and is the result of fetal lack of development. Furthermore, this lack of fetal development is the result of damage to the germ cell as the result of syphilis or of other toxic agents to the parents at the time of conception. The disease is the manifestation or can be called the result of the conflict between the inferior organ and its environment.

Rosenstein brings these two results to one conclusion. "If organic disease rests on the one hand upon hereditarily acquired organ inferiorities and on the other hand is the accompaniment of the marked evidences of a type of sexuality opposite to that possessed by the indi-

vidual, then the facts of organ inferiority and the degrees of sexual development must belong together." There are many factors which confirm this conclusion. In the first place, Adler ascribes the functional disturbances, such as the neuroses and psychoses, to the same predisposing cause. At the same time, Fliess explains the essence of neurotic fears by the appearance in the same individual of opposing sexual impulses. Fliess was also the first to call attention to the relation between left-handedness and artistic talent. Adler, on the other hand, from his standpoint says that talent is the result of a successful central compensation and oftentimes over-compensation which is the manifestation of a psychic superstructure on an originally inferior organ. It is just because the inferior organ retains its embryonal character that it and its corresponding nervous mechanism is able to acquire a post-fetal development.

As a result of these views many manifestations are made clear; as, for instance, the frequent combination of art and homo-sexuality. We also understand the so-called products of decadence as they appear in history. These are the times of strongly marked organ inferiority and, at the same time, a displacement in the relationship of the sexual substances. We begin to understand the appearances in these epochs of many neuroses and psychoses on the one hand, and appearances of a manifold artistic endowment on the other. We begin to understand the relationship of the above with the increased number of feminine men and masculine women, and their relationship to the artistic and positive character of the times. At the same time, we get an understanding of the sinfulness, the opposite of the neuroses, and of the increased number of organic diseases which goes hand in hand with all of this.

Rosenstein, in order to explain more clearly the relationship between Fliess and Adler, draws upon a work of Halban's, "The Development of Sexual Characteristics," *Archiv für Gynakologie*, 1903, Vol. 70. Halban develops the view that under the influence of the sexual glands, indifferent tissues are stimulated to develop into secondary sexual characteristics, while the whole foundation of the individual, including primary, secondary, and psychic sexual characteristics, is resident within the primary cell. A single sexual impulse whose origin is unknown causes the development of all the attributes that belong to each sex. Hermaphroditism, according to Halban, is a disturbance of the normal activity by virtue of which not a single, but a "double sexual impulse" determines the fetal and post-embryonal development. We see here that Fliess and Halban have arrived at the same point—one premising fundamental bi-sexuality, the other a "double sexual impulse."

The hermaphrodite, according to Halban, is a degeneration product. He develops the hypothesis which shall account for its creation to the

fact that a spermatozoa furnished with less than normal energy is unable to destroy the feminine tendency of the ovum, and in this way the masculine character is unable to develop more fully. The theory of organ inferiority allies itself to this when Adler says that the inferior organ in its morphology and function is stamped with an embryonal character. If we add to this the fact that Adler was able to show in most cases multiple organ inferiority, and that these were accompanied by an inferiority of the sexual apparatus, we are forced to the conclusion that the hermaphrodite of Halban, the intermediary person of Fliess, are those in whom the whole constitution did not in its embryonal development reach its normal end, and is, in consequence, inferior and laden with embryonal organs. For we must picture to ourselves that in the normal undamaged cell, which is a union of male and female cell, as the result of a cause totally unknown to us, it reaches to one sexual development at the expense of the other. When, as a result of the causes which Adler makes responsible for the inferiority, a fetal want of development results, the normal development becomes inhibited. The opposite sexual characteristics are not sufficiently repressed and the organs retain at the same time their embryonal character which stamps them with the mark of inferiority. The completion of their development can only take place after birth under favorable auspices by means of compensation. We can see, however, how far the agreement is in these three views; for instance, in hypospadias. This condition, according to Fliess, is a result of the change in the sexual substances of the individual; according to Halban, is the effect of both sexual impulses on the external genitals; while Adler includes it in the complex of the manifestations of organ inferiority.

In order to relate this to a biological viewpoint, Rosenstein refers to a work of Kiernan who, in speaking of contrary sexual receptives, shows that in the lower forms insufficiently developed individuals show regressions to the hermaphroditic type of animal life. That fruit which is the result of the fetal lack of development is unable to reach the highest point of mono-sexual development, and suffers at the same time the imprint of this lack on all its other organs. Adler has pointed out that the end result that is obtained cannot be considered degeneration but rather a regeneration. Nature makes such changes to the damages sustained by the organism in its lack of development, with its inherent greater tendency to growth and variability, that a better adaptation to its environment is obtained.

It is well known that in order to understand inversion the theories of bi-sexuality have been much employed. Halban from his standpoint says: "As a rule, the sexual psyche is laid down just as the other sexual characteristics are. In other words, an ovum becomes, as the result of some unknown impulse, either male or female. All its sexual organs in the widest meaning of the word and also its psychic disposition is

determined for it." But as disturbances of this normal impulse can take place, we can have as a result either hermaphrodite or else we have an individual with masculine or feminine organs and the psyche of the opposite sex. Rosenstein thinks that we have learned since that there is no sharp line of demarcation between the normal and the hermaphrodite, but that it is rather a matter of degree.

Psychoanalytic research, on the other hand, approaches the whole problem from another angle. As the result of its therapeutic endeavors, it lays a great deal more stress on the acquired characteristics. Freud postulates an indifferent sexual impulse which is not bound to the object as much as we commonly suppose it to be, so that the attempt to find its object begets for it many dangers through infantile experiences, fixations, etc.

But according to Adler, the child's feelings of inferiority, its consciousness of its own weakness as contrasted with that of the father; false evaluation as regards the differences between the sexes; and false sexual theories, all give the boys the feeling of femininity which becomes fixed for later life as a manifest homo-sexuality or, as the result of an incomplete repression, develops into a neuroses.

The psychoanalytic viewpoint considers the ontogenetic factors, but with reservations. Without the assumption of a constitutionally disposed attraction to the sex of the same kind, no explanation will hold water. Even although one does not know all of the differences in the psyche of the sexes, this much remains true, that the differences enforced by the object to be achieved and the differences in their rôle which must take place in the sexual act, bring about, of necessity, a difference in their psychic constitutions. We must presuppose that both forms of the psyche are present in the inversion, and the above-mentioned concept of Halban and the "intermediary region" of Fliess give support to this view. Even Sadger, who was the first to give proof of the possibility of the complete cure of inversion, admitted that even though psychoanalysis has done much to clear up the problem, a complete explanation is still not possible.

In speaking of a case of homo-sexuality, Sadger says: "The fixation of the masculine love was the result of a repression of the heterosexual component, just as, on the other hand, in every normally sexed person the homo-sexual element must be repressed. The final deciding factor, by virtue of which one or the other of these is repressed, resides in constitutionally organic factors and is a complete riddle to us."

In his attempt to show how the theories of Fliess and Adler give a biological foundation to Freud's theory of the neuroses, Rosenstein recapitulates their theories. He shows that, according to Freud, the libido is composed of many partial instincts all present in childhood; all these partial instincts become fused in the normally developing individual into normal sexuality; but where an individual has what Freud

calls the sexual constitution, individual components are congenitally strong; the child reveals a sexual precocity which allows a fixation of these perverse impulses. If the normal sexual libido as a result of psychic conflicts is inhibited, the repressed perverse instincts manifest themselves as symptoms; in other words, a neurosis is a negative of a perversion. Adler, in addition, has shown that the sex constitution, at least in the child, reveals manifold organ inferiority. The so-called erogenous zone of Freud and the sexual precocity are synonymous with Adler's organ inferiority which, striving after primary pleasure sensations, pursues its path with increased intensity. In this way, Rosen-stein finds the neurotic disposition to be grounded in biology, and shows the necessity of bringing the concept of bi-sexuality into the same picture. He states his final conclusion when he says: "When two research tendencies independent of each other, starting from different viewpoints and seeking different aims, are such in their results that they meet in a third concept, such as the theory of the neuroses of Freud, they prove the truth that it is contained within themselves, and at the same time strengthen the theories which have resulted from the facts which Freud has observed.

3. *Concerning Urethral Eroticism.*—No single point in Freud's sexual theories arouses such bitter, almost personally touched antagonism as the fact that the anal region has an erogenous significance—this in spite of the fact that the slightest contemplation reveals that pederasty is as old as the human race and as well known, and was even recognized in Greece. The statement that children would not empty their bowels in order to retain the pleasurable sensations which accompanied their retention was laughed at. All of this becomes easily understood when one considers that this form of eroticism is most common in childhood and is often the strongest one, and may persist throughout life. Or, on the other hand, by a tremendous expenditure of energy, this tendency is repressed in the deepest layers of the soul. In his analyses and studies Sadger soon realized that in addition to anal-erotic there was, in many cases, an even stronger erotic which was related to the urinary apparatus and its products and manifested itself in the very earliest period of childhood. He gives it the name of urethral-erotic. Under this term he includes not only the urethra and the urine but the whole peripheral urinary apparatus from the bladder to the external urethral orifice.

From the time of puberty or shortly before it, this urethral-erotic may be the model on which all subsequent sexual life is formed. The relationship is close, even though both products have not the same psychic value. It is clear that the infantile erotic, not considering the thumb sucking, is bound mostly to the anal region and to the urinary apparatus. The regular discharge of these wastes is one of the most important duties required of the infant, and, for a relatively long time,

is the only duty demanded of him. Everything else is exacted in a playful fashion; but the regulation of his natural functions is the first duty which approaches him with the inevitability of life itself. Here we have the beginning of duty and the firm "thou must"! And nowhere does the child's resistance reach such productive degrees and nowhere is it persisted in to such an extent as in the negation of this natural duty.

As a rule, it is possible to train children in regard to these things by the end of the first year, generally by the end of the second. At first they begin to sleep quietly through the night without soiling themselves, and gradually they learn to control their bowels during the daytime. Normal children of good intelligence who persist in not acquiring these good habits until the third year or even later are usually found to be intense urethral-erotic individuals, in addition to being anal-erotic. It is only thus that we can understand how bright, intelligent children in spite of admonition, threats, rewards, and punishments, persist in such bad habits. The first thing noted in such children is the frequency of micturition, which not uncommonly is associated with a real polyuria, and soon symptoms are noticed which reveal the fact that the act and its products have for the child an intense pleasure. Parents of such children complain that the child needs continual service, always wants to sit on the pot, is always wet, etc. This increased desire to urinate, which sometimes is aggravated to an incontinence—frequently lasting late into life—or having a recrudescence after a period of quiescence, makes the education and up-bringing of these children a very difficult task. These children derive a particular pleasure from emptying their bladders. This is often revealed by the expression of their faces, their half simpleton, half vacant stare, and also by the habit of urinating on their own bodies, which later on is projected on those they love. That the act of urination is capable of an erogenous sensation is a fact of common observation experienced by all when for some extreme reason they are forced to retain the urine. The same is true of retained feces. In both instances we have a well-marked pleasure sensation which is independent of the relief afforded by the evacuation. For urethral-erotic children, however, the mere act of urination has a pleasure content, even when large quantities are not present. Such children very often evacuate only small quantities at a time. One of Sadger's patients remembers distinctly in his childhood that he never completed the act of emptying his bowels or bladder, thus being enabled to repeat the act frequently and so extract from it the greatest possible pleasure.

Finally, he mentions the fact that wetting one's own body with urine gives an extra pleasure which such children, in spite of threats and even severe corporal punishment, persist in for the longest time. As a result, this type will not go to the pot, and, in spite of filled bladders, often wet themselves, although they know that corporal punishment is the immediate result.

Another aspect of urethral-erotic is the abnormal early sensitiveness of the corpora-cavernoso-urethra which is the result of retained urine. This has, as its final consequence, the very opposite impulse of urination: namely, its retention. As a result of that it is a common observation for adult males to realize that urine which has been held of necessity stimulates sexual excitement and may give rise to erections such as take place in the early hours of the morning. Any one who wishes to make this observation can note that the same is frequently true of infants, and even of young boys. In both these latter erections take place as the result of the retention of urine. Sadger thinks that this physiological effect is consciously used by the child for its erogenous benefit. He thinks such urethral-erotic children elaborate the classical theory held by so many juveniles that impregnation is the result of the father's urinating into the mother, and upon this is built the "wish fantasy" to have a child in the same way. It has also been observed that children who have been trained have periodical lapses of bed wetting and even of wetting during the day. Sadger thinks that this is regularly the result of sexual excitement in the child.

In addition to the sexual overdetermination of urine as a manifestation of urethral-erotic he then describes the increased eroticity of the urethra. He states that hyperesthesia and anesthesia of the canal are the obverse and reverse of the same condition, and that the excessive or diminished sensitiveness of the urethral canal is nothing but the result of its erogenous character.

Sadger credits this to Alfred Adler who, he says, considers the anesthesia as the primary condition, the hyperesthesia as the secondary compensating one. The erotic of the distal urinary apparatus reveals itself further in sensations of tickling in the urethral canal which are localized at any point throughout its length, also in acute urethral pains having no anatomical basis; and finally through feelings similar to those experienced in evacuation, which may or may not be accompanied by secretion but are always the occasion of extreme pleasure sensations.

One of the little understood causes of masochism is the fact that children often provoke their elders to punish them corporally, so as to experience again the pleasurable sensations that corporal punishment produces, either in the anal region or urethral region. If in later years causes such as gonorrhea in the male or pregnancy in the female reanimate these sensations, they may persist in the form of hysterical symptoms. Finally, he classifies as pollution-like acts of children, who, as a result of being frightened by their parents or guardians, wet themselves.

Sadger then takes up the objections, especially those which seem to place the onus of the symptoms he discusses rather upon an early developed sexual apparatus than upon the urinary area. He admits a precocious sexual stimulation as an extension from the urinary tract; he admits also the truth of Freud's assertion that in the earliest period of

childhood the urinary tract is, so to speak, a model or precursor of the sexual one; and, finally, in the phenomenon he has just described as the pollution-like wetting or the tickling feelings in the urethra, it is possible to differentiate the sphere in which they should be accounted. Over and above all this, there are a number of reasons which justify the concept of the urethral-erotic; in the first place, the typical feelings of satisfaction which are part of the act of micturition. In addition to this, from the time of puberty there are undoubtedly a number of sexual phenomena which are, without doubt, a continuation of the urethral-erotic, in fact, they seem to carry it on.

Sadger maintains that the infantile urinary-erotic is the model for all the later developing sexual acts, the transition being all the more easily understood since it is merely transposed from one secretion to another. He likewise interpolates such pathological manifestations as delayed evacuation, increased frequency of pollutions of spermatorrhea, coitus-interruptus, the neuralgias of the genital organs, psychic impotence, and the nervous disturbances of the urinary tract, as a simple continuation of the childish urine-eroticism. He maintains that it has the same significance, almost the same forms, with the difference that the sexual secretions now take the place of the urinary ones. Where urinary incontinence was the case, we now have multiple pollutions, spermatorrhea, or ejaculatio præcox. The retentio urinæ now becomes a delayed evacuation; the habit of emptying the bladder in small doses now becomes a masturbatio interrupta or a congressus reservatus. Finally, he insists that all these conversions may take place but must not be allowed—the childish urinary eroticism may persist as such. The strength of the primary urethral-erotic in combination with its later psychic conversion he ascribes as a cause of the lack of success of so many therapeutic measures when directed against these conditions. As a further proof he mentions the fact that the Viennese neurologist, Maximilian Steiner, reports that the large majority of his sexual neurasthenics complain less of the disturbances in the sexual sphere than of ones in the urinary tract. Most of these cases follow a cured gonorrhea; but following it the neurasthenic complains of a vast array of troubles. Interesting, too, is the habit of man at the time his sexual functions come to a close. Those men with prostatic troubles repeat the same manifestations which characterized infants and small children. If they suffer with a retention of urine, it helps them to be put into a warm bath or to urinate in a bowl of water.

Sadger then takes up the question of the outcome of the infantile urethral-erotic. Outside of its conversion at the time of puberty into a normal sexual activity, a part of it remains as it is, or in a slightly modified form continues into adult life. The child, who, after retaining his urine, passes it from him in a long arc, continues that act as a child when he holds contests with other children as to the height and length of his urinary stream. The great desire that many have of urinating from a

great height, the pleasure others find in urinating in public rather than in private, have their origin partly in the instincts of exhibition. Finally, after mentioning other acts of a similar nature, he calls attention to the child's love of playing with fire; and in conjunction with this calls attention to the experience of children's nurses, proving that those children who, during the day, have played with fire or matches, wet their beds at night. Another modification of the urethral-erotic is the symbolization of the urine by water. He gives a number of instances of this, such as the love of certain children to play with water, to wash themselves and their clothes, and their doll clothes in it, etc. The sublimation of the urethral-erotic manifests itself in the various activities of man from sport to vocations. Such youngsters turn to water sports with passionate energy; they swim or row or sail. On the same basis, Sadger thinks they choose the calling of sailors. Others become interested in mills and turbines and water works, and, if individuals of increased ability, become marine engineers or constructors of large canals. He does not mean to imply that this is true of all those people who take part in these activities, but that it is true of those who, as we say, enter into it with heart and soul. Nor does Sadger wish to be understood as implying that every captain of a ship or that every engineer has become such as the result of his urethral-erotic, but he does maintain that a large number of these people, especially those who follow their calling with intense interest, have this constitutional disposition, and that throughout their lives it determines their interests. In art, too, Sadger maintains that this sublimated urinary-erotic manifests itself. This is especially true of fountains. He cites the well-known "Maeneken Pis" in Brussels, and the "Brunen-Buberl" of Munich; likewise, he mentions the "Tugenbrunnen" in Nuremberg, where water is being constantly emptied from the breasts of the women who make up this fountain.

Finally, he takes up the question of the controlling cause of the disposition in a marked case of urethral-erotic. He assigns the first place to heredity. In investigating the history of his cases, he found a number of the members of their families on both sides who complained of organic neurotic disorders of the urinary tract. In one of his cases the grandfather died of stone in the bladder; the father had prostatic enlargement; the mother had a chronic cystitis without any demonstrable lesions; and, finally, the son was a marked sufferer from a very strong urethral-eroticism from birth. In addition to this important constitutional factor, the education of these children plays a great part in the etiology of their troubles. Sadger warns parents to avoid unduly handling the genitals of their children. He is astonished at the almost unbelievable things that his patients reveal to him as having taken place in their childhood. In some cases the many necessary changes of clothing carried out by the mother or governess were so lovingly lingered over that the child was precociously stimulated. He warns also against prolonging the period in which the child is helped

to perform his various functions. He maintains that the child should be taught to do these alone as soon as possible.

Finally, he cites a number of interesting cases to prove his thesis. He closes his article with rather detailed reports of four cases. The first is that of a twenty-three-year-old man, homo-sexual, who had an active sexual desire exclusively for boys from twelve to fifteen years of age. He also had a bronchial asthma and a pyrexia, both of which were proven to be hysterical, and a very unusual urethral-erotic. He was the only child of an aristocratic family, and from birth was surrounded with the most intense parental love, which he continued to desire.

One of the most striking symptoms of this man was his desire to see boys of the type which attracted him urinate; at the same time, to see their penis. He noticed this for the first time when he was fourteen years of age. Throughout his entire life this patient derived a great deal of sexual pleasure from every action or manifestation in the urinary realm.

This case, viewed from Adler's concept of the organ inferiorities as the basis of neuroses, lends itself to the theory, in that, in the first place, the father's family showed many manifestations of genito-urinary disorders. The grandfather, in fact, died as a result of such a disease; the father had all the symptoms of prostatic enlargement. Further predisposing factors were the fact that the patient's parents were in the habit of performing all sorts of private acts, such as dressing, undressing, toilet activities, etc., in the presence of the child. This patient, early in life, began to symbolize his urethral-erotic and, at times, to sublimate it in passions. With two and a half years we note that his favorite game was to play with a sprinkling can. At three and a half years he was given his heart's desire, a pump that really pumped water, and the mother noted in her diary that her young son was so attached to this plaything that it was almost impossible to make him go to bed. This passion for pumps lasted for quite some time. Following it he had one for sprinkling carts. Beginning with adolescence all forms of water sports were adopted by him with the greatest of enthusiasm. These water sports were pursued in spite of the most strenuous opposition on the part of his parents, and in the face of the lack of money to engage in them properly. One of his symptoms was a dysuria-psychica. For many years it had been impossible for him to pass water if anybody were watching him. When this occurred, he had a feeling of disgrace in not being able to urinate. This symptom manifested itself in his fifteenth year, and began during the period when he loved a certain boy (the greatest love of his life). Further analysis revealed the fact that this symptom had its inception much earlier, in fact, at the age of seven.

After discussing in much detail a number of symptoms in the field of urethral-erotic manifested by this patient, Sadger draws this con-

clusion: "The primary factor in this case is the constitutionally strong erogenous character of the peripheral urinary tract and of the urine. This is shown in the pleasurable sensations at urination, in the inclination to early erections, even in infancy, and the tendency to the retention of urine. This type of child discovers early that by this mechanism they can derive pleasure, and from that time on, they practice it regularly. If, in addition to this, and in the case of boys, the parents are in the habit of helping the child to urinate by taking hold of the penis to bring it out, the child learns to demand this as an additional source of pleasure, and, at the same time, makes use of it to satisfy his exhibitionistic tendency. Following this, the other component, that of the tendency towards sexual curiosity, is stimulated and directs itself, in the first place, towards the parents and their urinary acts. The dysuria-psychica, which comes later, is a continuation of the urinary retention practised in the very first years of infancy, and similarly, too, it is based on the increased erogenous properties of the urinary apparatus. The looking and exhibition desire for urination both of one's own and that of the loved person is sacrificed in the cultural evolution of the individual. This repression, as the result of cultural forces, naturally is increased when the repressed tendencies are stimulated later in life by the presence of a loved object. On the basis of this we can understand that the inability to urinate in the presence of an object which is sexually attractive is the result of the stimulation of the patient by that object, with the result that the repression must be increased, and has an end result, the complete inability of the patient to urinate."

The second case which he discusses is that of a thirty-two-year-old compulsion-neurotic. This patient, in addition to typical compulsions, thoughts, and acts, showed a large number of urine-erotic symptoms. These he had had since his third year. The incontinence of urine, which was one of the first or chief symptoms, disappeared at the age of nine, as the result of his falling in love with a very neat and painfully clean teacher. As a result of this transference, he determined to overcome his bad habits and to be as clean and neat as the beloved teacher. In this case, as in the former, the constitutional and environmental factors were present. This patient married a girl, who, without doubt, was also the subject of a very severe urethral-erotic. Regularly with every pregnancy she had a so-called cystitis, with strangury, pain, and burning, which began immediately following the first cessation of the menses and disappeared immediately at the end of the pregnancy. As a child she wet her bed. They have two children who showed this form of eroticism, practically from birth.

(To be continued)

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THE INTERPRETATION OF CERTAIN SYMBOLISMS

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OF BOSTON

I have had the opportunity, during the past few years, to study carefully the case of an unmarried lady, about fifty years of age, a portion of whose history I have recently recorded elsewhere.¹ She was the oldest child of hard-working New England parents, typically high-minded, studious, intelligent, and strongly "religious" in their habits and traditions. The other children were two brothers, one of whom had died a good many years before I knew the patient, as had her father also, who played a part of immense importance for the development of her character and temperament. Not long before her coming to me, her mother had likewise passed away, leaving her alone except for her younger brother, who was married and had two children. As a young girl and throughout her adolescence this patient lived in a mental atmosphere strongly charged with ideas of "duty and sin," "sin and duty," to such an extent that it became very hard for her to follow her natural instincts—which were (I now believe) those of an affectionate, lively, sociable, pleasure-loving, rather imaginative person, with emotional tendencies which were in part of a somewhat immature type. Everything that, as a child, she did or abstained from doing was done or abstained from intensely, and in conscious obedience to orders—which, although kindly meant, were often ill-chosen as regards her best development—and the emotional reactions that attended her efforts at conformity were marked by strong repressions. Ill health in childhood,

¹ Journal of Abnormal Psychology, June, 1917.

and other influences (narrow parental views on the subject of amusement, etc.) made her outward life a very restricted one, with but few of the outlets in the form of play that are of such immense importance for the growing child; and she became, in consequence, rather petulant, precocious, introverted, self-assertive, with strong, largely unconscious longings, the nature of which it has become possible to investigate. But, hand in hand with these qualities, there went also fine, generous traits, with marked powers of self-denial and self-devotion, together with literary capacities which only needed adequate development to become excellent.

To complete this brief outline of her outward life, I will say that she went eventually to college, sacrificing, in so doing—for the sake of conformity to the wishes of her father, to whom she was passionately attached—a desire to study music, for which she had some talent. Repressed, misunderstood and unacknowledged cravings, distressing conflicts, conscious struggles against bodily weaknesses (dependent, in part, on definable disturbances of metabolism²), marked her college life. Although seeming a normal, if rather feeble person, she suffered, in silence, from typical compulsive tendencies, from a singular habit of doing and saying the wrong thing at critical moments, and from sundry other peculiarities, hostile to her peace and indicative of an un-free, more or less dissociated personality. In spite of these handicaps she was able to teach successfully during several years after graduation, and eventually to devote much time and energy to the care of her mother, with whom, however, she never felt thoroughly in sympathy and from whom she did not receive—so she believes—the genuine affection that was a daughter's due. Painfully conscious of this lack, and given to exaggerated estimates based on undue sensitiveness, she felt her emotional life checked and starved; and although her intense love for her father and her brothers (thoroughly disinterested in part, if partly the expression of a personal craving) compensated, in some measure for the unsatisfactoriness of her relations to her mother, and became, presumably, itself intensified thereby, yet the net result was an increasing tendency to self-imposed social isolation and morbid introspection. Fortunately, her intelligence, good feeling, and good sense, though worsted temporarily in these inner struggles, retained their elasticity, and the results of treatment were eminently satisfactory.

² She had a mild but troublesome Graves' disease, which necessitated constant treatment.

I have no intention of describing the course of the analysis as a whole, but only of discussing certain selected symbolisms of the patient's dreams. The justification for doing this lies mainly in the intrinsic interest of these symbolisms in themselves, partly in other considerations which will appear.

Since first attempting to describe these symbolisms and their meaning (now a number of months ago), my feeling about them and about the problems which the thought of them suggested has undergone a considerable change. In the beginning scientific curiosity was my main motive, and the symbols stood for nothing more than pointers to erotic traits which repression had concealed. As I began to write, however, with this idea in view, I felt that I was in the way of giving a one-sided impression of this patient in dwelling so strongly on these infantile tendencies that seemed so strikingly at variance with her other qualities.

Wishing, as she did, to make her experience, even if painful, of use to others and to the cause of science, the patient was ready enough to see emphasis thrown, if that seemed necessary, on the erotic, pleasure-loving, individualistic side of her character, which had grown luxuriantly in the dark, although occupying for the most part a compartment by itself.³ Also, moved by the same feelings, she was inclined to assert that even the tendencies which had seemed altruistic—her very genuine love for her father and her "religious" habits of thought—had been utilized by her as fuel for the flame of her repressed erotic fancies; and I was content, at first, to accept her view without much mental comment. The patient had written out (see below) some interesting associations connected with the idea of "air" as a creative agent, which had been aroused by the reading of Freud's "Leonardo,"⁴ where the legend is recalled of the vultures impregnated by the wind, and had embodied in them some striking memories of her early, Bible-reading days, and various thoughts that connected these memories with her father and her brother and brought to light the ardor of her love for them.

But, more and more, as I thought the matter over, I began to ask myself whether this attitude was justified, and spent much thought over the old problem, what "religion" is, and whether it has any standing in its own right as a real source of motives, or must be considered solely as the "projection" of a "wish-fantasy," and what

³ It goes without saying that these tendencies permeated, in some measure, her whole mental life.

⁴ English translation published by Moffat, Yard & Co., New York.

the bearing is of these questions on the significance of symbolism and of dreams. A similar set of inquiries arose with reference to the possible relationship between the evident philosophical and logical properties of the symbol "three"⁵ and its equally evident erotic meanings. Here, again, I may say that the patient, although amply able, by virtue of ability and inclination, to deal with logical and philosophical situations, was quite willing, at first, to minimize the more abstruse meanings of the symbol "three" as having anything to do with her choice of it as a mode of expression, and to accept the erotic associations as alone of causal value.

But as time went on I came to regard her readiness to adopt the purely erotic or "infantile-fixation" explanation, as a "symptom," and became persuaded, for myself, that certain ideas which I had for a long time entertained, but had laid aside as perhaps of little service in connection with strictly psychoanalytic work, were, after all, of practical significance for the understanding of this case.

So far as these ideas can profitably be formulated at this point, they are as follows: No wish—not even a dream wish of infantile type, that could not express itself adequately in words or even in symbols—can be entertained as if it stood for itself alone. Every wish implies a wisher, and a wisher with a personality that thrills with self-foreshadowing possibilities of adjustment to planes of development not yet clearly visible to him but determined by the fact that he is a member of a group, and a group of such a sort that its boundaries tend to widen the more he may strive to define its limits. In fact, every special group tends to dissolve into the immaterial something that corresponds to the purposes for which it came into existence and others which were implied in them. These possibilities of development tend to form a theoretically discoverable background of association for the symbols in which each wish is clothed; and if one was bent on tracing out all the thought-experiences as well as the act-experiences⁶ from which a given symbol derives its connotative meanings, it would be as important to discover and define these foreshadowings⁷ of possible adaptations to actual and ideal rela-

⁵ See below.

⁶ In fact, the difference between the two is mainly nominal.

⁷ Every man's possibilities of development are far more truly a part of him at any and every given moment than he would be inclined to admit.

"And like a pilgrim who is travelling on a road where he hath never been before, who believes that every house which he sees from afar is the hostel, and finding that it is not directs his belief to another, and so from house to house until he comes to the hostel; even so our soul, so soon as it enters

tionships as it is to discover and define the buried experiences of early childhood that linger in the form of nearly useless, or even harmful, sensuous, pleasure-giving cravings of sorts familiar to all students of psychoanalysis.

In a former paper⁸ I likened these latter cravings (unwelcomed and unacknowledged by consciousness) to unwelcome and unacknowledged infants whom their parents gladly would suppress and if possible forget, and the former (the not yet thought-out thoughts and feelings) to children unborn but dreaded as sources of unmeasurable responsibility. As I have said, I had laid aside these conceptions as perhaps likely to distract my attention from the study of the infantile fantasies and fixations to which it seemed so important, as it is so difficult, to do justice. For many situations, and in the case of many patients, as where the main problem is the discovery of fairly well defined causes of specific phobias, it does indeed appear unnecessary to deal much, if at all, with considerations relating to the "whole meaning" or possibilities of development, or "aspirations" of the individual as a whole. In other cases, however, of which the present is an example, this is, I think, not true. In spite of her willingness to admit the contrary, this lady has exhibited, in increasing degree, social-sublimation longings and religious upon the new and never-yet-made journey of life, directs its eyes to the goal of its supreme good, and therefore whatever it sees that appears to have some good in it, it thinks to be it. And because its knowledge is at first imperfect, through having no experience or instruction, little goods appear great to it; and therefore it begins first from them in its longing. And so we see little children intensely longing for an apple, and then going on further, longing for a little bird, and then further on longing for fine clothes, and then a horse, and then a mistress, and then wealth, but not much, then much and then enormous. And this comes to pass because in none of these things does he find that *for which he is ever searching*, but believes he will find it further on."—Dante Alighieri: *The Convivio*, Fourth Treatise, Chap. XII, I, 146.

Every person is, in short, not only the product of theoretically definable experiences; he is also and of necessity *a searcher*, and the undefined objects of his search (which are by no means covered by motives definable as *libido*) exist in a measure as determinants of his course. After a time every one's "issues" define themselves as moral issues, as obligations, and a psychoanalytic investigation, for physician as well as for patient, is not solely an affair of reason but also an affair of morals. And the same is true of the mind itself.

⁸ *Imago*, Vol. I; reply to criticism by Dr. Ferenczi.

⁹ Cf. Josiah Royce's use of this term in various publications.

ious longings¹⁰ not wholly traceable to metamorphosed libido-strivings. This proposition is only the expression of my opinion, and it would doubtless command more ready acceptance if it could be clearly shown that a man's mental growth is not wholly dependent on a *vis a tergo*; that is, not wholly a product of biologic evolution—a process of adjustment to a “given” physical environment (and eventually a mental environment though conceived of as an outgrowth of the physical)—but an attempt on the part of a really spontaneous and creative being to “find itself” in a self-creating universe of which it is a representative member. Of course, evolution as a whole would represent such an “attempt” on a large scale, and my argument would imply that the “energetic” something which underlies evolution, contains and uses, at each moment, an impulse of which human volition is the example most clearly evident to us.

Even if this proposition cannot be substantiated, however—though I believe it can be—and even if the universe is built and “works out” its destiny on some such principle as is operative in the conversion of so much heat into so much motion, it would still be necessary to reason *as if* there were such a thing as self-determination permeating and in part accounting for men's thoughts and acts. And so, too, it would be *as if* no “wish” was ever wholly “regressive” but always of such a sort as to acknowledge tacitly the existence of social and so “moral” obligations, even in an ideal sense.

But I pass on to the actual symbolisms that are to be considered, and begin with one of which the chief interest lies in its power to illustrate afresh how oddly and unexpectedly the influences act which have their main root in the erotic constituent of our unconscious wishes.

When this patient was at college, namely, her handwriting provoked comment from one of her professors, who noticed a marked tendency on her part to finish off her letters—more especially the capital letters—with elaborately long, full and rounding curves.

This peculiarity of handwriting is of a sufficiently familiar type, and various causes, amongst which a general expansiveness of temperament would figure, might be brought forward to account for it. Its principal interest lies in the fact that it had (in her estimation) a partial origin in an anal erotism which, in its turn, is of significance as being one of several signs of an autoerotic tendency which played, indirectly, an important part in the building of her temperament.

¹⁰ That is, desire to play a part in social betterments, taking, on the one hand, a practical, on the other hand, an idealized form.

This fondness for full, rounding curves showed itself, not alone in the handwriting but in various ways, at different periods of her childhood, and one evidence of it was a marked fondness for pitchers with rounding sides, the first of which was given her by a cousin when she was but a small child, and soon afterwards broken, to her intense distress. The circumstance was trivial enough, and there would seem to be no reason for going beyond the obvious fact of a real esthetic fancy, to account for it, or for the further fact that when she was about nine years old, and first took drawing lessons, her fancy for pitchers and vases with "full, rounded sides" became almost an obsession. It is, however, of scientific interest, in view of what we know of the effect of early childhood experiences of erotic sorts, in helping to explain mental tendencies far more important than the insignificant ones here at stake, to note that these memories connected themselves with another that took her back to her third or fourth year. At that period her father took her for her first visit to the real country, which—full of eager receptivity as she was, both for things of the senses and things of the spirit—greatly aroused her interest.

"One morning we started out to walk across the fields, but I did not walk—rather I skipped by his (her father's) side for pure joy. The blue sky, the fleecy clouds, the green grass and frolicking lambs, all told of the coming of spring. . . ."

"I noticed some little specks on the grass. Of course I had to ask what they were. When I heard that they were the droppings of the lambs I became quite excited. After that I observed the habits of all animals. Being in the country gave me ample opportunity for such studies. The horse, the cow, the dog, the cat, and the pigs in the pigsty fascinated me and started up a series of 'whys' within my inquiring mind. At the farm where I was staying the pigsty was next to an old-fashioned 'privy.' It was built very loosely; there were big cracks between the boards. Whenever I was taken to that place, I had a good chance to notice the pigs, because they were visible through the cracks. I could see pink noses poked between the boards. I could hear grunting and squealing. I had a feeling of terror; I thought the pigs wanted to eat me. I was thankful that the hole in my own special little seat was very small, so that I could not fall through it and be devoured. Of course I was in no danger, but I was always fearful of a mishap. Some older person had charge of me, so I was perfectly safe. On our return to the house we would stop to look at the pigs. I enjoyed the sight of their little curly tails; I wondered why pigs had them and people did not. 'Oh, God made them so;'—that was the invariable answer to my question."

With her present memory of these events, she believes that there was an unconscious bond of erotic interest—to which her emotional nature predisposed her, even before her visit to the country with her father—between her fancy for curving letter-appendages, her fondness for curving pitchers (and similar objects having an even more potent and private interest), and finally, her excitement, when three years old, over the pig-sty discoveries with their obvious connotations. And so, insignificant in itself, the experience acquires the interest of a typical experience. The pig-sty fascination stood for a dim and varied host of sensuous fascinations, of sorts which could be partly named, and which connected a certain phase of infancy (when the patient's active fancy worked on materials already tabooed) with another and esthetic phase, looking toward the future and seeking instinctively to utilize the sensuousness of infancy as an element in its own development. Men undertake to read temperament through a study of the handwriting, and, crude though this branch of science is, it doubtless has a certain standing. But if it ever develops further, or in proportion as it does so, this will happen in part through the medium of observations of the general type of those here given. For it is largely emotion—and if emotion, then preëminently, those forms of emotion that hint at sensuously colored experiences of kinds now prohibited—which give, perhaps not the main impulse through which customs and habits are determined, but an impulse which is of peculiar importance for a double reason: namely, partly because its appeal is strong and subtle, partly because it is withdrawn from supervision. What happened here in the case of handwriting is liable to happen, and must happen, in the case of many other customs that are more vitally important. The fact that the esthetic interest was also real made it of more service as a means of exciting a sensuous, non-esthetic, fancy (deeply founded as all anal complexes are bound to be); and the reverse was likewise true.

“The original little brown pitcher had a fat little body, with curves just like those of a pig's back. The handle of the pitcher was like a curly tail. A fat pig and a fat pitcher were linked in thought subconsciously. An interest in art became a very easy matter when founded upon such a love of curves. . . . In adding tails to letters, I was renewing a delight of early childhood, a delight dating back to my third year and to surprises at the farm. Evidently a certain chain of association lingered in my thought. In writing a paragraph of whatever nature, I felt a distinct dissatisfaction if certain letters were left tailless. My mind refused to rest until I had looked back over the work and had added all the missing tails. An internal compulsion made me do this.”

The "internal compulsion" of which this patient speaks was, however, a compulsion not only to gratify a sensuous impulse of self-indulgence, but to utilize in this gratification a habit dedicated in its own right to another purpose of greater social value; and in yielding to the temptation to do this the patient was, on a small scale and with reference to a trivial matter, both denying for the moment the sense of obligation to this social allegiance and also, by that very act, admitting its binding force. It will appear more clearly in the discussion of the other symbolisms referred to in this paper, how important this double process is for the daily life of every man. For every one has, not the right only, but the duty and the instinct, both to strive for a broader, more adequate expression of his best aims as a member of society, and also, in doing this, to utilize in the best way his emotional and sensuous endowment—that part of him which, with more gifted persons, might express itself in poetry, in music, or in art of fine sorts. In accomplishing this task the danger is continuously present that he may prostitute his best desires to the chance of reinforcing, to the point of excess, these emotional and sensuous elements in his nature, instead of utilizing the latter to enrich the former. That is, he may sensualize and sexualize his religion and his best forms of love. But those motives, which he dimly feels to be bonds of relationship with the community and the universe at its best, still remain as possible sources of rehabilitation and progress. And whatever one may say of so doing as a practical proposition, it is theoretically within the right and duty of every physician to see that his patients realize the significance of both terms of this conflict, or antithesis. Willing and wishing to sympathize with others who follow the less good paths in these respects and find themselves driven helplessly before the gusts of passion, we are bound to observe carefully the less obvious successes and failures that are taking place before our eyes. Every one does this on a small scale, and one hears (as described in biographical and romantic literature) the praises of those who succeed and the criticisms of those who fail. A great many successes and failures are, however, deeply hidden from superficial view, and it is only through searching methods of psychoanalytic investigation that they are brought to light.

I have next to say something about certain symbolisms related to *muscular- or movement-erotism*. The remarks will best be grouped about certain recurrent dreams, of which I will briefly report two. The muscular feelings of excitement or relaxation here referred to pass over without a break into those related to respiratory, or air-

erotism, and also to the father-complex, as well as to the domination and inferiority complexes; from which points one can travel as much further as one will.

Ogre dream, of frequent occurrence in childhood:

"I see myself wandering through an empty house. Suddenly a dreadful ogre rushes out from one of the rooms and pursues me. Without wings I seem to go up stairs and yet not touch them with my feet. I hide in dark closets to escape the ogre. Then I hear him coming and I hurry on in the greatest fear. Now I am far in advance, now he almost grasps me. Then when I have reached the last gasp, one of two things happens; either the roof opens and I float out heavenward in relief and joy, or else I fall to the floor in a little heap of exhausted despair. At that instant the ogre disappears."

This dream, familiar in type, gains in interest when taken in connection with the next.

"My mother, my sister, and myself are living in a fine old-fashioned mansion. It is light and airy, having many windows. The lovely white-enamel wood-work delights me; but there is no furniture in the rooms. They are absolutely bare. The house stands in the midst of a beautiful park where magnificent oaks are so close together that a bird's-eye view of their tops would show a carpet of green. I seem to see myself high in the air enjoying such a view. In fact, during the first few moments of the dream, I am outside of the house looking at it and finding pleasure in its beauties and the charm of its situation. My mother and sister¹¹ are in an inner room of this big, square mansion. While dreaming I am conscious that they also represent myself. Then I am in the house with them. Without warning there comes, from within me, a sensation as of some force active there. In an instant it is outside of and in pursuit of me. Beginning like a gentle breeze, it increases until it has the strength of a hurricane which nothing can withstand. To escape its power I run into a hall, and bolt behind me three doors there. I have shut my mother and sister in with that 'dreadful something'! But no; it cannot be confined. It passes through the bolted doors to my side of them. Then the 'force' is no longer simply a force, but it becomes a person with a purpose. I rush out into the park. My feet leave the ground. With a superhuman effort I make my way

¹¹ Cf. Stekel: Ueber den Traum. I do not, however, fully agree with the author in his view, held at the time of publication of this valuable work (q. v.), that these sensuous symbolisms represent sensuality alone. Reasons for a broader view are here presented.

in the air to the tree-tops where I walk along on the huge boughs from tree to tree, trying to conceal myself beneath, or behind the foliage. I look for the pursuer. There he is below me—he is likewise looking for me. It is a man on horseback. The horse is high-spirited, is turning in circles, and his head is held erect by the rider's firm grasp on the short reins. The horse cannot throw that man. I watch them with interest. Then I find myself awake."

This dream opens up a number of problems which I pass by. Its momentary interest centers in the breeze-like force, felt at first within herself, then outside, and eventually assuming the characteristics of her father, who was positively identified by her as the person on horseback upon whom she gazed with admiration. The father here corresponds in part to the creative yearnings which were so strong in her, and of which he was at once the (acquired) object and the symbolic expression. Such a child is like a person who has drunk of the love-philter, and whose need to give and feel love transcends any of the special forms and outlets that are found for it in the course of evolutionary history. But what is, in the last analysis, the nature and source of this need to give and feel love, which is so deeply founded in every human being? Is it solely of evolutionary origin, and does it exist solely in the interest of the budding sex-life which is soon to play so important a rôle? The study of man's social history and instincts and of his unconquerable, unappeasable idealism contradicts this view. If behind the father-, or mother-love there lies, on one side, the individualistic, sensuous needs of the child, it is equally true that beyond the father, in the other direction, there lies a dim recognition of that for which "fatherhood" stands, in an ideal sense. But, to get this in its full form, the child must go beyond his experience, and get an inkling of the possibilities of development, or "complete meaning" of his own mind and personality. "Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis." The father as person—deeply and sensuously loved as such, it may be—is "vergänglich" in this sense, but points to ideal possibilities of desire which are not thus "vergänglich."

This seems to me worth saying, because too much is sometimes made of the "father-love," or "father-complex" as standing as a model, or serving as a category, for so much else that happens later; as determining, for example, both the form and substance of the religious attitude, define it as one may. The argument is true, but not the whole truth. So far-reaching—in a sense, so all-embracing—an emotion like that of love, which appeals so strongly to sensuous,

personal desires, upon the one side, and upon the other to a rational disinterestedness of the highest type, in which personal claims and wishes become merged in social claims and wishes, cannot profitably be defined from any single standpoint. For human nature, like the universe, has its deep, unresolvable paradoxes, such as those which appear when one deals with such conceptions and contrasts as "body and mind," "substance and essence," "the many and the one," and which imply the existence of two real poles—real in their separateness and equally real in their essential unity—as real and as mutually essential as the polarities in electricity.

The strongly socialized, idealized forms of love do not exist simply as branchings-out of anything that could be thought of as a sexual *libido*. They exist also as in their own right, and while they are interpenetrated with *libido*, in Freud's sense, the truer statement is that both are expressions of an everywhere operative, self-active, creative energy.

So, too, while the religious feelings (take them as one will), between which and the feelings of love close affinities exist, must have their sensuous and erotic leanings (for this is only tantamount to saying that they have an evolutionary history), it is also true that sensuous feelings often have their religious leanings, and may, if rightly used, enrich by their presence the fineness of the religious feelings. By "religious feelings," in this sense, I mean the feelings based on the recognition of the transcendent, self-active element in ourselves and in the life outside,¹² by virtue of which men are able to preserve their independence and yet to merge their desires in efforts and wishes for the welfare of the community in the widest sense.

¹² It is obvious that the views here presented are related, in certain of their trends, to opinions which others,—notably Jung, and in some respects Adler,—have expressed, though still more to another's, here unnamed.

It should, however, be said that Adler's (and Nietzsche's) doctrines, while they imply the underlying sociality of man's instincts as a basis for his instinctive self-assertion, do not accord to the larger conception its due place. "Dominance" is not the best foundation for an ideal society.

Also, as regards Jung, while I sympathize with his recognition of the parental-complex as not wholly covered by the sensuous element contained in it and as based partly on a "religious" instinct, which Freud would consider as due to fantasy alone (cf. his "Geschichte der psychoanalytischen Bewegung," English trans. No. 25, Nerv. and Ment. Dis. Monog. Se.), yet I think that Jung fails in almost discarding the sensuous, and especially the infantile sensuous elements altogether. Nor does he, I think, note that the sensuous owes its intensification, in part, to the recognition, and at the same time the defiant setting at naught, of the more spiritual obligations.

Nevertheless, it is certainly true that the principal gain or satisfaction, instinctively sought, and won, by my patient, through these fancies, was of a sensuous, erotic character, as the following remarks will show:

"The Bible," she writes, "was familiar to me from the very beginning of my own personal history. At home we had family prayers every day, and all the children read Bible-verses. The description of the creation was fascinating in the extreme. My imagination pictured each detail.

"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form and void . . ."

"I wondered how the earth could *take on form*; then I learned that God could create something out of nothing—at least that was the way I interpreted what was told me.

"In Matthew xix, 26, we read:

"But Jesus beheld them and said unto them, With men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible."

"So I believed that God could do anything. Among many questions which demanded an answer, were these important ones: Where did little brother come from? Ans. From heaven. Who made him? Ans. God created him. Did God make me? Ans. Yes, God made you; God made you and—and gave you to us. This reasoning caused me to think that only one thing was necessary to bring a little child into the world. That one thing was a fiat of the Almighty. God had said: 'Let there be light,' and there was light. Now He might say: 'Let there be a child,' and there would be a child. The simplicity of this was awe-inspiring, but did not wholly satisfy curiosity. I wanted to know the *how* of everything. I bent over my Bible again. 'And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.' (Genesis i, 2.) To me it seemed that not only did the Spirit move, but the waters moved also, because He hovered over them. I think the story of the pool of Bethesda had something to do with this idea:

"In these (five porches) lay a great multitude of impotent folk, of blind, halt, withered, *waiting for the moving of the water*. . . For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool and troubled the water. Whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole of whatsoever disease he had."

"That person had a new lease of life. Therefore, in one sense, healing can be considered a creative act. But I was not so much

concerned about the healing as about the moving of the water. I pictured the Spirit of God as *troubling the water*, far back in the days before the world was. But what was the Spirit of God like? The Bible helped me out on that point. The story of Pentecost was very instructive:

“‘And when Pentecost was fully come, they were all together with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from Heaven as of a rushing mighty wind; and it filled all the house where they were sitting.’

“With great interest I read the next verse:

“‘And they were filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance.’

“Some people may say that mentally I was in deep water. Nevertheless I remember having had these thoughts long before I knew the truth about birth. I had the idea that air in motion and water in motion were both somehow connected with birth. Hence my interest in bubbling springs. The ‘mighty wind’ was the Holy Spirit. The story of the Immaculate Conception made me feel quite certain that I was right:

“‘And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called, The Son of God.’

“Yes, here was God saying unto Mary: Let there be a child.

“One of my dreams has been difficult for me to understand, but this childhood belief may help to explain a part of it. In the dream about the three bolted doors, the force which was like a ‘mighty wind,’ and passed through them, may have represented this same birth (impregnation) fancy.

“In another dream, where my brother is leaping from a cliff to a beach below, the association connected with the word ‘beach’ brought to light the fact that one of my chief delights was going with him to a beautiful spring of water which was covered at high tide but was pure and fresh at other times. So ‘wind’ and ‘water’ met (in my thought) and together they brought back to consciousness the early ideas as to procreation, ideas which I had absolutely forgotten.”

Investigation has made it clear, that in this patient’s childhood fancy the conceptions of father, husband, child, mother, were fused or closely interwoven.

The evidence afforded by clinical research makes it seem probable that, underlying and partly determining these relatively elaborate and later fantasies, the idea of the power of wind has a more personal autoerotic root in the unconscious recognition of physiological processes in which this element figures. The analysis brought out the probable existence of this root in this patient's case, and the following incident is of interest, partly in that connection and partly as binding the various ideas together:

In early adult life the patient had a somewhat serious illness which required the prolonged attention of an eminent physician in another city, whom she came to take as a substitute for her father and to treat with undue confidence. Of the physician's part in taking advantage of the patient's confidence I will say nothing. A number of years after the treatment at his hands had ceased she saw him for a few moments once again, in an almost incidental way, and on returning home threw herself, fatigued, upon her bed, for a few moments' rest. In the interests of refreshment she began taking deep breaths, and then the feeling came over her that in her deep inspirations she was somehow entering again into peculiarly intimate relations with this person. Finally, as she made a long expiration, it seemed to her that a symbolic birth-act was taking place, and that she was giving birth to his child.

It is easy to see that an idea of this sort might have occurred without reference to any specific function of the inspired and expired air. In the patient's mind, however, this reference did play a part, and illustrated the fantastic conceptions that have been above recorded.¹³

The next piece of symbolism of which I wish to speak has reference to the number 3 (or the idea of triplication, or triangulation), which figured with great frequency in my patient's dreams, in ways that the following citation will indicate:

¹³ Both primitive and medieval literature give evidence of widespread mystical conceptions as to the fructifying power of air or wind; and the same is true of the fantasies of childhood, which still weave themselves so strangely around the assumed connection between the taking of food, its fate within the body and the marvellous power of the feces to fructify the land. In all this process "air" or "wind" plays a part rated as very important. The subject is too large and too familiar to call for references, but I would cite, as especially important, Dr. Ernest Jones's paper, *Die Empfängnis der Jungfrau Maria durch das Ohr* (Jahrb. f. Psychoanalyse, Bd. VI, 1914). Freud's "Leonardi da Vinci" (now to be had in English) takes up, in the same sense, the old popular belief in the impregnating power of the air, with special reference to the impregnation of the vulture.

Dream I. The patient is walking on the edge of a steep cliff. Her brother, clad in bathing costume, comes up behind her and then precipitates himself on to the beach below. She climbs down painfully and with difficulty to aid him. While trying to rescue him, three girls, dressed identically, come to her aid, and one of them takes off and gives her a white sweater, which she puts on her brother.

(Investigation seems to show that these three girls are triplications of herself, but as favored with a degree of health and youth and vigor that had been foreign to her. The white sweater recalls one actually presented to this brother by his mother.)

Dream II. Three girls of a physical type somewhat analogous to the preceding seem to be taking possession of a room which the patient had occupied, in a certain boarding-place. There is some dispute about the ownership of a watch and pin that had for some time been hanging on the entry-wall, and the patient snatches them, saying that they were more hers by right than theirs, and had been there long before they came.

The girls appear as rivals (*i. e.*, as implying conflicting interests within herself), perhaps with some homosexual connotation, especially as the patient had recently broken off a close relationship of this sort of many years' standing.

Dream III. In a long and elaborate dream, the triplication-tendency seemed to be illustrated in seven or eight different ways. A strongly "exhibitionist" tendency comes out in parts of this dream (as in various others and in numerous experiences). At one point, three girls, dressed identically in a material of dark blue color (this color was for her a father-emblem, as having been much liked by him), sit Turkish fashion on a flat roof, supported on pillars which one of them climbed, during the dream, in exhibitionist fashion. At another point a "barge-like" house was to be seen, with glass sides (exhibitionism) which entirely covered a small "island" in the midst of a pond or lake. This structure had three horizontal floors (or partitions) of the same size and shape; one below, as if resting on the ground, one at the top, and a third at an intermediate position. When the patient looked again, these partitions had become heart-shaped.

Dream IV. In this dream the patient passed through a "cultivated, fertile strip of land," lying between two avenues, and in it twelve palm¹⁴ trees grew, arranged in three rows of four each.¹⁵

¹⁴ The palm trees occurred here, obviously, with a mainly phallic meaning, while in another dream they carried death connotations. "Death" in her

Dream V. Twelve steps lead up from a partly underground basement (grocery shop) and her "double" (her close friend for many years; see above) is mounting them, followed by the dreamer herself. Having reached the sixth step her friend bends backward and falls.¹⁶ She, being on the third step, catches her, and carrying her back into the store places her on some empty orange-boxes. The store contains, otherwise, raisins and oranges, but nothing else.

In another dream, the patient's intimate friend (the two being present at a musical entertainment) makes three attempts to sing and then collapses to the ground.

Passing by a number of analogous situations in which three appears as if with some significance of meaning, I will refer to a single symbol in a long dream (VII)—a roll, namely, of wall paper which carries a design made up of three ("or five") pale blue¹⁷ wavy lines, alternating with one red line, the whole design being repeated many times.

Finally, I give one more dream (VIII) for the reason that the symbol occurs in it, for the only time, in the definite form of a triangle.

Dream VIII. "I was awake for a few seconds, then fell asleep and had another dream. Again I heard a voice. It said: 'What did you have for dinner . . . supper?' To answer the question I did not mention what I had had for any meal, but I was much surprised to find myself holding a paper bag in my right hand. Into the bag I saw myself put three triangular-shaped raspberry tarts such as I had had for breakfast the day before. Strangely enough the tarts did not drop to the bottom of the bag. Therefore, there was nothing but air there. I was much astonished. Only a child would

fantasies, however, was closely related to birth, as was shown strikingly in one "buried alive" dream, in which she rejoiced to note that the slab of stone over the grave was raised some inches from the ground.

¹⁵ This dream (see below) has interesting homosexual or bisexual features, in which the patient and her mother figure.

¹⁶ In another dream (VI), into which three does not enter but which may help to explain the last, the patient mounts a step-ladder behind her mother, "fearing that she will fall" and wishing to support her, though in fact she (the patient) comes up so abruptly as almost to push her mother off. Her mother then bends toward a shelf to place something upon it (other dreams show the shelf to be a sexual symbol) and reaches over her shoulder, as if to do the same thing (domination and hostility). Her mother's hand and wrist, and likewise her own, become invisible (*i. e.*, she does not like to think of them—doubtless, in part, for reasons familiar to every psychoanalyst).

¹⁷ Her father's favorite color.

answer such a question in such a way. I was quite disgusted, and heard myself exclaiming (in the dream): 'How infantile!'"

To any one whose interest in such matters as are here discussed goes beyond the simple gratification of curiosity, the study of number symbolisms is of absorbing interest. At first sight, numbers seem contrived for utilitarian and scientific ends alone, and it is, therefore, peculiarly impressive to find them serving as symbols of emotion, especially sex-emotions.¹⁸ But, in fact, the emotional significance attaching to numbers as standing for "groups"—as, a pair, a handful, a lot, a crowd (and, by contrast, a single one) etc.—is obviously very great,¹⁹ and points to a use of numbers that long preceded the "enumeration" of the relatively educated man. The flexibility and variability of any series of numbers and their interchangeability with geometrical forms makes them peculiarly fitted for use as symbols. Medieval art and ecclesiastical history abound in illustrations of this principle, but I will cite only one which for a double reason is suited to our present purposes. This is the familiar isosceles-triangle-shaped figure, representing the virgin or some other person typifying the Church, who stands draped in a symmetrically spreading robe, sheltered beneath which are two or more protected "children."

That numbers and forms (especially the triangle) are used with sensuous meanings, is, indeed, a matter of common knowledge, and all students of dreams are, furthermore, aware how almost inconceivably elaborate are the games—as it were—which the unconscious imagination plays with itself, where numbers are the pawns that stand for persons and situations which, in their turn, represent interests of deep emotional importance to the dreamer. The emotional interest attaching to numbers may be more especially general, or mystic, as where—to take a trivial instance—peculiar significance is attributed to the third "shock," or third attempt ("which never fails"), or to "three" as standing, even among primitive peoples, for a group, of indefinite size, etc.; or it may be more especially specific, as where (as is common enough in dreams) a street-number stands for a certain person, or a special date and number is made unhallowed by painful experiences. These two sorts of usage merge and overlap and are often interchangeable, and if I distin-

¹⁸ Lévy-Bruhl: *Les Fonctions Mentales dans les Sociétés Inférieures*, 1910; Von Hug-Hellmuth: *Einige Beziehungen zwischen Erotik und Mathematik*. *Imago*, IV Jahrg., 1915, H. 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

guish between them at all it is only for convenience sake and to suggest a possible means of delimitation of a large subject.

It is certain that "three" is felt as one of the most significant of numbers (whether regarded as a numeral, as a figure—in its Arabic or its Roman form—or in the form of the triangle, or as signifying triplication); and also that it has certain well-marked sex-meanings, both masculine and feminine in nature. Usener's book, "Ueber die Dreiheit," tells with laborious care what a part this number has played in ancient and medieval history, but seems to find for it no further psychological significance than as representing the indefinite form of multiplicity, or an intensification to which duplication leads up. In Christian and in Pagan art, the representations of the deity appear doubled or tripled, in identical forms, as in several of my patient's dreams.

Eugene Tavenner's interesting paper²⁰ on "three" as a magic number in old Roman times, gives another series of related data which help to show how widespread the use of this symbol is, as a group-designation, and prepare one to believe that where the number three comes in dreams it is to be thought of, not as a case of fanciful happening but as evidence, one must believe, partly of the grip of a strong and universal interest of a specific sort, partly of a typical mode of working of the mind.

But Tavenner goes no further in his explanation of this tendency than Usener, whose theory he cites.

In essence, this theory is historical and not psychological, *i. e.*, not brought into relation with the genesis of the mental interests and functions. Valuable though it doubtless is, the explanation offered by these writers needs to be supplemented in two directions, which the words "genesis of the mental functions," if taken broadly, will serve to indicate. Tavenner says:

"It is a well-known fact that certain Brazilian and other savage tribes count on the joints of one finger, bringing their systems of definite numbers to a close with *two*. Under such conditions the notion of *three* is indicated by the expression *two one*, four by the expression *two two*, etc., while the number which has the third place in such savage systems means not *three* but *many*.²¹ 'Our Indo-Germanic ancestors,' continues Usener, 'must have remained for a long time at the stage

²⁰ Three as a Magic Number in Latin Literature. Trans. of the Am. Philological Assn., Vol. XLVII, 1916.

²¹ Taylor (Primitive Culture, 3d Amer. ed., 1, 242 ff.) and other students of anthropology give ample evidence of the present existence among backward tribes of number systems ending in two and three.

where they counted on the joints of one finger in this way. The further advance to *four*, *five*, and the decimal system seems to have been both rapid and easy.' For this reason the numbers two and three made a very lasting impression in their popular speech, their religion, their folk lore, and their magic. We have only to recall our own expression that 'two is a company, three is a crowd,' and the German saying, 'Einer ist keiner, zwei viele, drei eine Menge,' to convince ourselves that there was really a time when, to our ancestors, three meant an indefinitely large number, beyond the limits of the definite number system. So also Diels has reached the conclusion that the number three derived its peculiar magic value from the fact that it was "die ursprüngliche Endzahl der primitiven Menschheit."²² This seems to be the most probable explanation of the origin of the belief in the great magic power of the number three."

The direct evidence as to the meaning of the symbol given by my patient was but slight, but this fact, in itself, is of a certain interest. She felt its intensification-value—its "many" or manifold significance—and still more, though entirely vaguely, its sensual or erotic significance, though she could not or did not trace this out. Knowing, however, as we do, that the triangle has long stood as a sign both of masculinity and femininity (and sometimes, as here, of both at once), this failure (in so far as it is not to be laid at my door) points to the repression of an erotic emotion pressing for recognition, and it is doubtless in this direction that the interest in the symbol is largely to be sought. Its use may not be confined simply to the revealing and concealing of a sensuous feeling or emotion. In my patient's case its employment hints, I think, at a recognition of ambisexual tendencies on her part, in which respect it is classifiable with several other very striking symbols to which reference cannot be made in this paper.

Not only is this true, but there is another very important meaning to which "three" inevitably points—namely, in standing for father, mother, child, that group so deeply important for every person's life, as each one's personal experience verifies and as the history of the Holy Family brings out in striking form.

The other universally valid connotation for the number three relates to its significance as recalling the logical and philosophical mental processes, of which, as I believe, every person is subconsciously aware, not so much through his intelligence and reason as through his feeling. Three legs, or feet, are not more typically es-

²² Archiv. f. Gesch. d. Philosophie, X (1897), 232; and Festschrift f. Th. Gomperz, p. 8, n. 3.

sential, or typically adequate, for the support of a table or a stool than is the syllogism for the founding of a reasoned-out conclusion. Neither is this sort of logical process—with which the famous Hegelian triad may, for present purposes, be grouped—more important in its place than is the kindred fact that every typical mental process implies an assertion, a negation of this assertion as insufficient and imperfect, and then a return to the universal positive which every one feels within him, as to a never-to-be-exhausted source of help in the further search for truth. Analogous to this, again, is the implication of subject, object, and process as a triad essential to many mental acts, as in the statement of a proposition, and the threefold aspect (of reason, feeling and will) under which the mind is so frequently described.

Finally, there are interesting social relationships of a triadic sort that are not fully covered by the formula "Two's company, three's a crowd," or by the conception of the family as a special group. It will be remembered that there are many men, as Freud has pointed out, who are capable of love yet who cannot develop this capacity to the full extent, except in the presence of a rival. Of course, as originally described by Freud, the "love" in question was conceived of as of a rather sensuous sort, but I believe that the situation is more broadly significant than this idea would indicate. Many excellent people fail to see favorable elements in various relationships in which they are chief actors, until another's praise of their good fortune, or the danger of losing some advantage accruing to them through another's rivalry, forces this recognition on their notice.

Another highly interesting triadic relationship, negatively analogous to the last mentioned, is that described by Royce²³ under the name of the "community of interpretation." The relationship of two persons (diadic) contains, as Royce points out, certain elements of special danger or of weakness, due to competition, misunderstanding, lack of confidence, etc. But if then there comes in a suitable third person (the insurance agent, for example, who intermediates between the individual beneficiary and the public, as represented by the company) a peculiarly satisfactory basis of understanding may become established. A child may—one might suppose—establish such a relationship between disagreeing parents.

The question is now pertinent: Is there any reason to believe that any of these more elaborate meanings were in my patient's thoughts; and if so, how did they bear upon the problem, why she found so great enjoyment in the number "three" as a symbol?

²³ See, especially, *War and Insurance*. Macmillan, 1914.

With regard to the first points, I can say that the lady in question has always shown a strong interest in logical processes of all sorts, and particularly in the kinds of relationships here in question.

Also, in my opinion, it is fair to consider that such processes, which every thinking man finds more or less congenial, imply the existence of innate mental qualities which every one can claim some share of and which no one can escape the self-imposing obligation to employ. Of course, however, the degree to which they are employed varies very widely.

It is highly probable that, when it comes to seeking, instinctively, for sensuous regressions—as in dreams—the forms of sensuousness which are (to some persons) peculiarly gratifying (just because peculiarly at variance with convention) are those in which motives and feelings which contain elements of (real) spiritual or intellectual aspiration are utilized in the service of erotic cravings. There is a spice of adventure in every protest, even if instinctive and unconscious, against taboos of every sort—as for example, in the use of oaths. Janet makes this clear in his excellent descriptions²⁴ of the obsessed patients who feel compelled, in church, to imagine themselves desecrating the sacred and consecrated utensils for purposes commonly thought of as unclean²⁵ or vile. It is doubtless the contrast that attracts, in the case of the acts inspired by the anal complex, and the root may be the same in both cases. Indeed, the principle involved is so well recognized that I should not have referred to it but for its interest in connection with these number dreams.

It is an interesting fact that this patient's younger brother, when between three and four years old, made great use of a similar tendency, after the following fashion: Evidently wishing—in fantasy—to intensify his own divergent feelings through objectification and projection, he imagined himself represented by three boys to whom he gave highly original names, which I must not here reproduce but will designate by the numbers "One," "Two" and "Three," respectively, while "Four" may stand for him, himself. "Two" was a boy of mischievous tendencies, "Three" a good boy, whereas "One" was a boy whose tendencies were neither good nor bad. For what then did "One" stand? It is improbable that this very young child worked out any of the philosophical or psychological issues here at stake, but it is the belief of my patient, his sister, that

²⁴ *Les Obsessions et la Psychasthenie*. Felix Alcan, ed., Paris, 1903.

²⁵ The fact that the German officers yielded, largely, to this temptation, during their stay in the chateaux of France, is of considerable interest.

their germs may well have been present to his mind. "One" was certainly not colorless for him, as it might have been supposed it would be, and in trying to define what position it did occupy it is interesting to discover that²⁶ the word "neuter," to which the negative meaning of "neither," "sexless," etc., is usually given, is really to be thought of as implying "both," and especially both masculine and feminine. An analogy would perhaps be the third term in the Hegelian dialectic, or the "conclusion" which strives to embody what there is of value in both of two discordant or discrepant propositions. Or, again, to take a biologic simile of genetic interest, one might think of the "undifferentiated" cell, which, through division, is destined to create two other, more highly specialized cells, of diverging functions. However this may be, these three personages played a considerable part in this boy's life. When he had done anything wrong he would throw the blame from himself on to "Two," who would then be banished from the group, which was thus reduced to "Three," "One" and himself.

But then, partly through the influence of his mother, who entered into the game but used it to reinforce her discipline, it would be made to appear that "Three" should not and would not stay in this diminished group because it was evident that he himself was really guilty in company with "Two" and could not shift his responsibility so easily. This idea, that the virtuous "Three" should be banished, distressed him very greatly and he would instantly decide to be good himself and thus bring back "Three" and also "Two." No matter what happened "One" always remained, like the "organ point" which gives unity to a series of changing chords. An analogous unity is that which preserves the changing "personality" intact through change, or which expresses itself in the concept "the many and the one."

In further discussion of the meanings of "three" as a symbol, my patient suggested that it had for her the signification of "completeness," as implying, for example, "all the love there is," all the possible amount of intensification and the like.²⁷

It is obvious that this idea coincides largely with that of Usener and Tannenr, in whose conceptions three stands for a symbol of an indefinite "many." But it means, perhaps, not only many in the

²⁶ As I am informed by Dr. J. S. Van Teslaar, on the basis of careful study of the subject.

²⁷ Cf. the dream into which the house enters, which was built with three heart-shaped superimposed floors or parallel, horizontal partitions.

sense of an indefinite "lot," but signifies, as has been said, "completeness," so many that one could not work for more, the three legs of the stool which support it firmly, the unity of masculine plus feminine, implied in "neuter" or in the concept of hermaphroditism regarded as "true."

It has been suggested that the extremely common use of triplication in heraldry (three spears, three boars' heads, etc.) conveys this idea of completeness or perfection, and my patient believes that it figures as a basis for the use of the symbol, in her case, alongside of the erotic connotation.

A consideration of the mixture of motives implied in these various possible sorts of uses of the number and symbol "three" exhibits as probable the presence of psychological tendencies on my patient's part, not alone in one direction but in two opposite directions, and it is the establishment of this proposition that is the main purpose of this paper.

I believe, namely, that one should recognize as important not alone the regressive tendency, the seeking of opportunities for sensuous enjoyment of a subtle sort—implying a species of defiant prostitution of a possible higher meaning in the interest of a concealed lower meaning—in this use, even in dreams, of symbols of double or multiple signification but also the tendency to accept and acknowledge as valid the "better standard which is departed from." It is as if the patient was to say: "I admit my obligation to support the actual and ideal social standards from which I regress, even though I seem, in regressing, to repudiate them. In fact, I derive a peculiarly acute satisfaction, of a sensuous sort, from the very fact that I deny, for the moment, their prior and transcendent claims."

The next symbolism to which attention will be called relate to the always important subject of theft, where the motive of mere acquisition is practically absent. A far better designation of this form of thieving (which would embrace most instances of so-called kleptomania) would be "symbolic," and the object of its analysis should be to discover the infantile roots of the desire symbolized and to get—in accordance with the foregoing argument—such hints as one can of the double or multiple tendencies at work and the relative value of each.

It is reasonable to believe, as has been asserted, that for some cases the mere secret handling of forbidden objects carries with it something of the gratification and excitement that attends more obvious forms of autoerotic handling, which are thus recalled. I

cannot reject the possibility that this element was present here. It is likely to have played no great part, however, if only because the number of the thefts was so small, and certainly it pales in significance when compared with certain other influences, namely, the longing for self-assertion (sought partly in compensation, partly for its own value), and the desire to possess and own her father and her brother, to whom she was so passionately devoted.

The occasion of the stealings and the objects stolen were, in brief, as follows: (1) a pear from a fruit-stand in childhood, taken in bravado and immediately thrown away; (2) "three" doses of an effervescent medicine belonging to her brother—trifling theft enough, but sufficient to call down reprobation from him and of special interest for special reasons; (3) certain books; (4) two pocket-books from a store; (5) some bits of lace; (6) a belt, too large for her; (7) certain small pearl buttons.

Two dream-thefts were also of much interest. One involved the (symbolic) taking of her sister-in-law's children, and the other an analogous theft, perhaps indirectly related to this, but in which she herself figures as the person stolen from. Finally, there was a significant temptation to take certain brass hinges and other door-furnishings which had curious associations.

1. The pear theft is described by the patient herself as follows:

"To have the upper hand gave a kind of exultation. It was a form of excitement filled with fascination. Not far from my father's office there was a fruit store. Sometimes the owner stood in the doorway. Sometimes he was half concealed in the darkness of the room. But wherever he might be, he kept an eye on the fruit stand in front of the store. Just because he was so afraid that something would be taken from him, for that very reason I longed to snatch a pear or an apple and dash out of sight before he could seize me. I did not want the fruit. I wanted to 'beat him at his own game.' He made me think of an ugly spider ready to spring on some one. I would take good care that he did not catch *me* (but she longed to have him do so, as he had caught other children with whom she longed to be, in a sense, identified²⁸).

²⁸ Cf. the "pursuit" dreams above. The pleasure of pursuit and even of capture recalled childhood experiences (as is so common) with a favorite uncle in whom she saw virtually her father, and also the memory of not-infrequent fallings through tripping and the like, as a consequence of her poor eyesight, which were made sweet for her through the pettings and consolings from her father himself, by which they were often followed.

The right moment came; in a twinkling I was off with a pear,—in another twinkling I had thrown the trophy away. At first I felt quite fine over my exploit. But then the New England conscience came into play—‘It is a sin to steal a pin. It is a *sin* to steal a pin.’ I never confessed the sin, however. For a long time, whenever I passed that store, involuntarily I quickened my steps.”

2. The effervescent-salts theft contains, in the patient’s estimation, a meaning of the following sort: from her earliest years and as an outcome of her Bible studies, this imaginative patient had had special fantasies about procreation and bubbling springs, a portion of which have already been described in her own words with special reference to her longing to be identified with her brother, who occupied much the same place with her father in her longings. The drinking of her brother’s “bubbling spring” of effervescent salts signified, for her unconscious fancy, this gratification of her longing for identification with him. In itself (*i. e.*, regarded as a piece of gross appropriation of property), the theft had no meaning and corresponded to no need.

3. The book theft was symbolic of her hunger of mind and soul, and, in particular, expressive of her longing for her father’s stronger and stronger love, since the reading of books was his breath of life and constant habit, and closely associated with him. It was (though probably not in an uncomplicated sense) like the taking of a flower associated with him. But the element of secrecy and the breaking of bonds to which she felt allegiance—and which for his sake she broke—doubtless played its part.

None of the articles taken were kept by the patient. The books were given away to persons whose possession of them had a particular interest for her, and they were replaced by others that would have a greater value, as she thought, for the second-hand book dealer from whom she took them.

The articles numbered 4 and 5, which were taken up but never carried away at all, seem to have had the following (principal) significance: No. 4 (the pocket-book)²⁹ and No. 5 (the baby lace) point to her longing for a child, a probability which is intensified by the fact that she had been reading and was engaged in translating a novel entitled “Lace,” referring to a present of lace from a lover to his lady.

No. 6 (the too large white belt) suggested pregnancy.

No. 7 (the small pale blue pearl buttons) hint at the same mean-

²⁹ A not uncommon dream-symbol in the sense of the vagina.

ing, partly because of the special significance of shoe-buttons (with reference to the well-attested meanings of foot and shoe) testified to an interesting piece of symbolism occurring in a dream which I have not space to give.

The brass hinges, lock and door fastenings, which she was tempted to take under peculiar conditions, were positively felt to have the same significance with the buttons. They refer, namely, to the possible closing and opening of doors to her own mansion, in a sense made clear in the ogre dream and the wind dreams ("pursuit" dreams) which I reported earlier. At about the same time that this dream was had, the patient was under the compulsion mentioned at the outset, of doubly locking her own chamber-door.

I have thought it worth while to mention all these matters because of the peculiar interest which always attaches to the evidence that theft experiences are not always—perhaps far less often than they seem—the vulgar performances of an anti-social personage. For my patient—to accept her own estimate—the thefts were tinged with the excitement that always accompanies a reaching outside of the conventional and socially lawful, toward a reward felt to belong, by natural law, to him who has the boldness to demand his felt due. It is a case of the individual against the community; and while psychoanalysts and patients, as citizens, should feel themselves as much the guardians of the community as any other men, yet they are also in a position to comprehend with peculiar force the longings and cravings of the individual. In my patient's case these cravings were strongly for maternity and for her mother's rights in her father and her brother. These points are brought out yet more strongly by the following two dreams which testify, inferentially, to the strength of the social motives which were set aside or sacrificed for the intensification of the sensuous and personal motives.

The dreamer saw herself on the street in swift pursuit of her sister-in-law, and a moment later was tearing a pair of ear-rings from her ears. The dreamer then turned and was herself pursued by her sister-in-law, who ran after her presumably to take the ornaments away. There was a house further up on the right-hand side of the street. The front of the house looked as if it had been struck by a bomb. The front basement-wall was no longer there; the place was open to the light of day. The dreamer and her sister-in-law ran to this house. The steps ascending to the front door were partly destroyed; the drawing-room was in ruins, one window being broken and many bricks having fallen out. On the floor above, in the front

bedroom, there was only a small opening in the wall, something like a port-hole in a ship. In this room the sister-in-law's mother was sitting. The dreamer wondered if she would find her own mother there too. When the sister-in-law arrived at the house, she ran up the front door-steps and on further until she reached the second floor. She did not see that the dreamer had gone slyly into the basement and was concealing the jewels in a box, covering it first with (so-called "invisible") pink-and-white plaid cloth and then with white ashes.³⁰ The dreamer was in fear of being discovered. When the danger was over, she started to rush up the broken door-steps after her sister-in-law, but paused half way and, instead of going further, sent a volley of harsh words up the stairway. With that she woke in a great emotional tumult, and was saying to herself two or three times in close succession: "Oh, I hope I shall never speak like that to anybody. It was dreadful."

Later the patient wrote:

"Recently two dreams have disquieted me because they were moving-pictures of petty thieving. Then, last Tuesday, while in a store, there came over me a strong impulse to take certain things (brass hinges, rivets, note-books, and candy). I did not yield to the impulse. I left the place as quickly as possible, yet the appearance of such a desire (in the open, so to speak, and not merely in dreams) gave me a distinct shock and a self-fear which has not subsided.

"What did it mean? What did that strong impulse signify? It said as plainly as words: *If I cannot steal children, I will steal something else. If I may not have what I want, I will take what I can get.*

"I am glad I understand this. I think, too, that a love of excitement is behind many an impulse to steal—particularly where the things are not use afterwards."

The other dream about stealing was as follows:

"In my native city a steep street was seen. On the right side it had very high houses; on the left, an embankment surmounted by a low stone wall. (There is, in reality, no such street there.) An observer of a 'moving-picture,' I saw myself walking up the street. One second, I was alone; the next instant two little girls and a stout, dark-complexioned woman appeared at my right. The children were dressed alike, in white blouses and dark blue skirts: the woman was entirely in black. Her face seemed familiar to me. Her age was somewhere between thirty-five and forty-five years. She had taught the children to steal. One little girl was eight, and the other eleven

³⁰ Possibly a hint at anal memories.

years old. These children were too close to me for comfort, and she kept at their right. We formed a straight line across the sidewalk; so there was but little space between myself and the gutter. They started, all three, to go up the incline with me. Suddenly the woman vanished. At the same moment I knew the children had stepped behind me and taken money from a bag which I was holding under my left arm.

"Note.—This was the small black bag which I use every day. When I have more than a dollar in that bag I carry it as just described. When there is only small change, I let my hand drop to my side.

"The children took bills, and not coin. Then they, too, were no longer visible—children and bills.

"Since I intended to go on a journey, I had an extra reason for wishing to recover my money. Therefore I turned, went down the hill to the railroad-station, sought out the station-matron, and then she accompanied me back up the street whence I had come. She had on a long white apron completely covering her dress, and she wore a white cap. She walked at my left, as we hurried along, looking on all sides for the children (idea of concealment). They were not to be seen anywhere. I was chiefly occupied in examining the windows of the houses on our right. At last, high up, on the top floor of one of the apartment-houses, the woman in black looked down on me for a fraction of a second and then peered at me from behind the 'half-blind' which covered half of the window offering this fleeting view of the enemy. With this glimpse of her the dream ended."

In setting forth the rather wide-reaching generalizations which have occupied many pages of this paper, I have been led, primarily, by the idea that not symbols alone but all emotions have two faces and consequently that one should not define a person's desires as "retrograde" or sensual, without noting that they are this eminently by contrast with others of a different sort, and in a sense that the psychoanalyst at least is bound to understand.

In fact, all that I have said applies rather to the edification of the physician than—directly—to the edification of the patient. It may be necessary, or desirable, to confine the psychoanalytic inquiry to a certain group of repressions of which—it should be said—the physician can more or less accurately prophesy the nature, and which the patient—reversing, as all patients are prone to do, the path of the repression—will sooner or later bring to light.

But it should be clearly known that the patient's mind contains also a variety of other data which he is not likely to bring to light, yet which it is vitally important for him to recognize, if this can but be brought about without detriment to his progress, as significant sources of motive. Such matters are certain inherent "moral obligations," which every one who will listen to his own conscience will find that he feels, first, as a member of the "community," in a widening sense; next as a virtual member of an ideal community, or—if one will—of the universe. I will waive the question whether the psychoanalyst ought to bring these matters definitely to the patient's notice (though I will say that I believe one reason this obligation is not felt is that the first mentioned obligations are not believed to exist as such); but it is certain that the psychoanalyst cannot be thoroughly competent for his task unless he has them in the background of his mind. And I believe that the time will come and is at hand, when it will be found that the physician can often act in both ways as helper to his patients, without either the loss of self-respect or failure to perform both tasks adequately. The universe is not, as I believe, founded in logical "reason" alone, much less in "scientific" reason as that word is usually understood. Moral intuition also plays its part, and probably discovers its right to do so because of inherent necessities and not solely because of utilitarian adjustments.

CHARLES DARWIN—THE AFFECTIVE SOURCES OF HIS INSPIRATION AND ANXIETY NEUROSIS¹

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The psychoanalytic study of these particular attributes of Charles Darwin's personality must necessarily be rather abruptly circumscribed. To do thorough justice to Darwin's personality one ought to read everything he published and all the family and personal history that can be had and present the material in an analytical biography. It is hardly necessary to eulogize Darwin's greatness in order to make the analytical study of his inferiorities and compensations acceptable to the hero-worshipping public.

Charles Darwin's contributions to the progress of civilization and welfare of humanity stand second to no man. He has done more for the liberation of human thought than the combined careers of Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Napoleon and other imitators, and his character needs no defense. It is of great value to know how he succeeded in refining the autoerotic cravings inherently active in every individual, and in sublimating the father's repressive influence, thereby making it possible for the affective cravings to create the long series of original researches into the mechanisms of nature. It is quite probable that no male can be capable of consistent original thinking who has not succeeded in freeing himself from the parent's resistant domination. As to how much Darwin's sexual life played a part in his scientific curiosity may be estimated from the fact that he laid supreme emphasis upon the mechanism of *sexual selection* as a determinant for the survival of pleasing attributes, hence variations in structure and movement. He says, in his *Descent of Man*, that the German naturalist and philosopher Haeckel, was the only scientist whose writings showed that he fully appreciated

¹ The formula upon which the analytical study of Darwin's personality and his creations is made is the origin and nature of his wishes, the nature of the environmental resistance, and the resultant behavior:

Primary Wish + Subsidiary Wishes (manifest)

Primary Wish + Subsidiary Wishes (repressed)

× Resistance (environmental) = Behavior.

the significance of sexual selection, to which now may be added the Freudian school of psychobiologists.

Another indication of Darwin's interest in the sexual functions is to be seen in the titles of his books, such as *The Descent of Man*, and *Selection in Relation to Sex*, *The Effects of Cross and Self Fertilization in the Vegetable Kingdom*, *On the Various Contrivances by which Orchids are Fertilized*, and *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*.

In this analytical study several discussions of Darwin's sexual life are, of necessity, frankly made. No one who reads Darwin's letters can help but duly appreciate the splendid manner in which he sublimated his sexual cravings, keeping himself pleasant, unirritable, appreciative and grateful, which, of course, is not characteristic of the sexually discontented.

Charles Darwin's paternal grandfather, Erasmus Darwin,² was a physician, poet and naturalist. He wrote *Zoönomia* (signs by which animals are known and may be named). His feelings in regard to nature study may be estimated from his introductory phrase, "The whole is one family of one parent." He was a very studious theorizer but not very practical in his scientific work, and Charles Darwin, when an elderly man, came to be disappointed in the excess of theory and the scantiness of facts in his book. Like most men who devote most of their love to creative thinking, he seems not to have been a very practical father, due, also, perhaps, to a "certain acerbity or severity of temper" (p. 6), because his second son, Erasmus, became a suppressed, psychopathic personality. The latter was quiet, retiring, had eccentric, self-indulgent interests, was, in some respects, brilliant, never married, and committed suicide at forty while in what seems to have been a state of "incipient insanity" (p. 8).

His third son, Robert Waring, the father of Charles Darwin, became a physician upon his father's command. Even though he detested the work his father gave him no choice (p. 12). Despite his "hate" for the work he developed a large country practice. There are indications that Robert and his father, Erasmus Darwin, did not understand each other in the matter of profession or finances, for his father "brought him to Shrewsbury before he was twenty-one years of age and left him twenty pounds, saying: 'Let me know when you want more, and I'll send it to you.' His uncle, the rector

² *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin* by Francis Darwin. The information in this article is taken from this work and the numbers following quotations, as (p. 8), refer to the pages.

of Elston, afterwards, also sent him twenty pounds, and this was the sole pecuniary aid which he ever received" (p. 8), which seems to imply that although he needed money he had to depend upon a relative. This fact may have had quite a genetic influence upon his attitude, later, toward his son Charles, whom he rebuked for carelessly spending money while at college. It is worthy of consideration that Charles Darwin, in turn, was unusually generous with his son, Francis, about some of his careless debts contracted while at college. Francis Darwin says: "My father was wonderfully liberal and generous to all his children in the matter of money, and I have special cause to remember his kindness when I think of the way he paid some Cambridge debts of mine—making it seem almost a virtue in me to have told him of them." The attitude of Charles Darwin toward the matter of his son's college debts stands out in quite striking contrast to the attitude of his own father. Charles Darwin, in money and business matters, was extremely careful and exact. "He kept accounts with great care, classifying them, and balancing at the end of the year like a merchant." "His father *must have allowed him to believe* that he would be poorer than he really was, for some of the difficulty experienced in finding a house in the country must have arisen from the *modest sum he felt prepared to give*. Yet, he knew, of course, that he would be in easy circumstances" (p. 98).³ From this statement, it seems that Charles Darwin, although he knew he had sufficient resources, was unable to use them more freely than he did because he felt constrained by his father's influence to deny himself. An indication that his father's attitude had caused him no little sorrow may be seen in the carefully considerate manner in which he made the debts of Francis seem "almost a virtue." This affective restraint, which Darwin imposed upon himself in order to keep peace with his father, which when associated later with other facts, gives us one important indication as to the mechanism of Darwin's chronic anxiety.

To return to Darwin's parents. His father was a man of unusual insight into human nature, for he practised the present psychoanalytic principle of inducing a free affective readjustment in his patients as a method of treating the distress caused by affective repression—*anxiety*. Charles Darwin says: "Owing to my father's power of winning confidence, many patients, especially ladies, consulted him, when suffering any misery, as a sort of Father-Confessor. He told me that they always began by complaining in a

³ Italics mine.

vague manner about their health, and, by practice, he soon guessed what was really the matter. He then suggested that they had been suffering in their minds and now they would pour out their troubles, and he heard nothing more about the body" (p. 12). Dr. Robert Darwin also found that the sexual forces played a critical part in the attainment of happiness or misery, which is obvious from the following statement: "Owing to my father's skill in winning confidence, he received many strange confessions of misery and guilt. He often remarked how many miserable wives he had known" (p. 12).

Other characteristics attributed to his father by Charles Darwin are: "The *most remarkable* power which my father possessed was that of reading character, and even the thoughts of those whom he saw even a short time. We had *many* instances of the power which seemed *almost supernatural*" (p. 12).⁴ Darwin follows this comment with three illustrations. The first one was how his father never, "with but one exception," made an unworthy friend, and, in this instance, a clergyman, who was "little better than an habitual swindler," was soon discovered. The second was the loaning of twenty pounds to a complete stranger who had lost his purse and promptly proved reliable, and the third was the detection in an insane young man, who accused himself of all the crimes under heaven, that he was guilty of a heinous crime. "His sympathy gave him *unbounded power* for winning confidence;" he was "the most *acute observer* whom I ever saw"; and "The *wisest man* whom ever I saw." (Italics are inserted to emphasize the superlative use of superlatives.) In order to successfully conceal undesirable wishes and emotions from a father having such unusual qualities for detecting them it would necessarily require one to most assiduously repress them from consciousness. It is quite probable that Darwin's interest in the expression of the emotions in man and animals was aroused by his father's capacity to read secrets of behavior from the manner in which emotions are expressed.

Robert Darwin married Susan, the favorite daughter of Josiah Wedgwood of Etruria, a very close friend of his father's, and it is quite probable that her esteem for her father-in-law was greatly enhanced by her own father's admiration for his intelligence. She seems to have had, according to a miniature and an account of her by friends, "a remarkably sweet and happy face," expressive of a "gentle, sympathetic nature" (p. 9). She is said to have enjoyed a most benevolent regard from her father-in-law (Bettany), and,

⁴ Italics mine.

through this affective influence, probably became deeply fascinated by his poetical, scientific curiosity, and much interested in his theories as to the causes of variation and evolution of life. She was very fond of flowers and pets. The tameness and beauty of her pigeons were the admiration of her friends. (The origin and variations of domestic pigeons form a most important part of the "Origin of Species.") The sincerity and frankness of her attitude, no doubt, gave her son Charles a distinct impression about the things in life that fascinated her. She was very sympathetic and seems to have had a protracted, wearisome illness which caused her death when Charles was but eight years of age. Her charming interest in nature gave him, it seems, a fixed inspiration, a wish to solve the riddle that fascinated his lovely mother. It must have been her romantic fondness for flowers which inspired her son to search there for the secret of her fascination, because, when he attended Mr. Case's school at eight, he had already begun to collect "all sorts of things," shells, seals, franks, coins, minerals, and "*tried to make out the names of plants.*"⁵ (Collecting was a well-developed characteristic of several of Darwin's uncles.)

The Reverend W. A. Leighton, who was a playmate of Charles Darwin's at this school, remembered his bringing a flower to school and saying that "*his mother had taught him how by looking at the INSIDE of the blossom the NAME of the plant could be discovered*" (p. 26). (Names are usually given in science, and also ordinarily, according to the genetic origin or dynamic nature of the object—to know the secret of the name is to know the secret of the child's or flower's origin.) The boy, Leighton, whose childhood curiosity and inspirations were later considerably gratified by becoming a botanist of well-known reputation, tried to discover the secret. He says: "This (secret) greatly aroused my attention and curiosity, and I inquired of him repeatedly how this could be done, but his lesson was, naturally enough, not transmissible" (p. 26).

Whatever was the exact source of the fantasies exchanged by the two boys, it was certainly a budding curiosity about genesis (sexual), because Darwin, in his autobiography, says, at 67: "One little event during this year *has fixed itself very firmly* in my mind, and *I hope* that it has done so from *my conscience having been afterwards sorely* troubled by it; it is curious as showing that apparently I was interested at this early age in the *variability of plants!* I told another little boy (I believe it was Leighton) that I could produce

⁵ Italics mine.

variously colored polyanthuses and primroses by watering them with certain coloured fluids, which was, of course, a monstrous fable, and had never been tried by me”⁶ (p. 27).

Why should Darwin, fifty-nine years later, with his fine insight into the naturalness of immorality in children, write this confession of an act of immorality committed at eight and apologize for it as a “monstrous fable” that simply would not fade with time. Most unforgettable incidents of childhood which later become painful memories are, in some manner, associated with a sexual transgression, and it is the severity of the struggle to refine the sexual interests that gives prominence to the transgressions of the past, like an old scar on a highly polished surface. The self-refinement tendency in Darwin is definitely revealed in his comment, “I hope that it has done so from my conscience having been afterwards sorely troubled.” This eight-year-old boy’s fantasy, that he could produce a variation in the colors of flowers by watering them, was told at the age when children are inclined to wonder seriously about the possible genetic qualities of their excreta, and the painful attributes of the “monstrous fable” was not in the story as retold at sixty-seven, but in the associations it had at eight. It is quite probable that Darwin’s fancy that he could cause variations in the colors of flowers by watering them was suggested by the manner in which they gradually faded and died after he had repeatedly urinated upon them (not an uncommon experiment of boys), and the fancy was told as a child’s recompensative wish. The urinating on the flowers probably had the value of being a fertilization curiosity. (See the fertilization curiosities in Darwin’s list of publications to be given later.)

Whether or not Darwin’s mother actually propounded her enchanting riddle to her boy is not quite so important as the fact that he said she did, showing how keenly his wishes relished the fancy that she had revealed to him the one secret of life that fascinated her—the secret, which, if read, would reveal the origin and creation of life and—himself. Children from seven to ten are usually passionately fond of riddles. It is the trial and error method of finding the answer to the omnipresent riddle as to their origin. Soon after this innocent exchange of confidences with her boy, the beautiful mother died—went on a long journey into the night.

At ten, this boy was still collecting minerals with much zeal, still searching for the answer to his mother’s riddle and her wish that he

⁶ *Italics mine.*

could know. He says: "All that I cared about was a new-named mineral" (p. 31). We must not forget Zoönomia.

During the next seven years, in the classical schools, he was an indifferent student, and earned the reputation of being more difficult to teach than the average boy. The cause of this is evidently in the fact that his sponsors persisted in trying to make him learn stuff for which his affective cravings had an aversion. Criticism and rebuke seemed to fail as arousing stimuli, as did also changes of schools and teachers. In his autobiography, Darwin estimates the value of his schooling in the following phrase (p. 40): "During the three years which I spent at Cambridge (studying theology) my time was wasted, as far as the academical studies were concerned, as completely as at Edinburgh (studying medicine) and at school."

The personal history of Darwin shows that after his mother's influence nothing pleased him like the study of nature and never for a day does he seem to have abandoned his quest. No doubt this adolescent speculator upon the secret of life was subtly, but decidedly, impressed by the family's romantic interest in the nature of the recognition the grandfather's theories of evolution were winning from the great scientists of England. At the time of the following critical incident his enthusiasm about the merits of his grandfather's studies was at its height. He was admiring "greatly" the theories in the book *Zoönomia* when accidentally his conviction was fixed by the enthusiastic remarks of a hero-friend. The remarks were made under those subtly impressive circumstances which make them irresistible because they suggest an attractive solution for an uncomfortable affective conflict. He and his older brother, upon his father's insistence, were attending Edinburgh University in preparation for the practice of medicine, his father's and grandfather's profession. Both boys had insurmountable resistance to medicine, but the father persisted, it seems, in sending them to this sort of school, because the classical school had been a miserable failure and he wanted a son to practise medicine with him. Charles Darwin, though inspired to learn the names and secrets of biological and geological objects, was utterly distressed by names and words in the form of languages. For him it was like marrying the wrong sister. No little anxiety was felt by Darwin's earnest father as to what his son's future as a man might be, and this pressure, no doubt, made the solution of a career most desirable for all concerned if it could only be found. His mother

had innocently, therefore the more irresistibly, named her wish for her boy's destiny, and his father's wishes, that he should study some profession, only diverted him from the quest. While in this restless affective dilemma, the solution came in a most fortunate manner for the future of civilization.

Adolescent Darwin, age seventeen, was walking with maturing Doctor Grant, several years his senior. He says, in his autobiography: "I knew him well; he was dry and formal in manner, with much enthusiasm beneath the outer crust." (This boy had achieved one of the supreme delights of a boy's life; he had overcome the reserve of his hero and was learning, through sharing confidences, some of his impressions on the secrets of life and what works of men aroused his admiration. In his autobiography, Darwin expresses disappointment, even when an old man, that this hero of his youth did not write more and develop his interests fully.) "He one day, when we were walking together, burst forth in *high admiration* of Lamarck and his views on evolution. I listened in *silent astonishment*, and, as far as I can judge, without any effect on my mind. I had previously read the *Zoönomia* of my grandfather, in which similar views are maintained, but *without producing* any effect on me. *Nevertheless, it is probable that the hearing rather early in life such views maintained and praised may have favoured my upholding them under a different form in my Origin of Species. At this time I admired greatly the Zoönomia*"—as well as Doctor Grant.⁷

This confidential revelation, by his impressive hero, of a similar interest in the secrets of the evolution of life, firmly approved the soundness of Darwin's sacred wish of childhood, to learn the secret of nature by looking "inside" the flower. Although he began his scientific career as a geologist, as he grew older he reverted to his first wish and became more and more interested in the secrets of fertilization and variation of plants and animals. Finally, he gave the world the following answers to his mother's sacred riddle:

Books⁸

On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life, at fifty.

On the Various Contrivances by which Orchids are Fertilized by Insects, at fifty-three.

⁷Italics mine.

⁸ This is by no means a complete list of Darwin's publications.

The Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants.

The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication, at fifty-nine.

The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex, at sixty-two.

The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals, at sixty-three.

Insectivorous Plants, at sixty-six.

The Effects of Cross- and Self-Fertilization in the Vegetable Kingdom, at sixty-seven.

The Different Forms of Flowers on Plants of the Same Species, at sixty-eight.

The Power of Movement in Plants, at seventy-one.

PAPERS

Observations on the Structure and Propagation of the Genus *Sagitta*, at thirty-five.

Vitality of Seeds, at forty-six.

On the Action of Sea-water on the Germination of Seeds, at fifty.

On the Agency of Bees in the Fertilization of Papilionaceous Flowers, at fifty-seven.

On the Tendency of Species to Form Varieties; and on the Perpetuation of Varieties and Species by Means of Natural Selection, (Darwin and Wallace) at forty-nine.

On the Agency of Bees in the Fertilization of Papilionaceous Flowers, and on the crossing of Kidney Beans, at forty-nine.

Do the Tineina or other Small Moths suck Flowers, and if so what Flowers, at fifty-one.

Fertilization of Vincas, at fifty-two.

On the Two Forms, or Dimorphic Condition, in the Species of *Primula* and on their Remarkable Sexual Relations, at fifty-three.

On the Three Remarkable Sexual Forms of *Catasetum tridentatum*, at fifty-three.

On the Existence of Two Forms, and on Their Reciprocal Sexual Relations, in Several Species of the Genus *Lineum*, at fifty-five.

On the Sexual Relations of the Three Forms of *Lythrum Salicaria*, at fifty-five.

On the Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants, at fifty-six.

On the Character and Hybrid-like Nature of the Offspring

from the Illegitimate Unions of Dimorphic and Trimorphic Plants, at fifty-nine.

Notes on the Fertilization of Orchids, at sixty.

The Fertilization of Winter-flowering Plants, at sixty.

Fertilization of *Leschenaultia*, at sixty-two.

Pangensis, at sixty-two.

Fertilization of the Fumariaceæ, at sixty-five.

Flowers of the Primrose Destroyed by Birds, at sixty-five.

Sexual Selection in Relation to Monkeys, at sixty-seven.

The Scarcity of Holly Berries and Bees, at sixty-eight.

Notes on the Fertilization of Plants, at sixty-eight.

A Biographical Sketch of an Infant, at sixty-eight.

Fertility of Hybrids from the Common and Chinese Goose, at seventy-one.

The Sexual Colors of Certain Butterflies, at seventy-two.

Movements of Plants, at seventy-two.

The Movement of Leaves, at seventy-two.

The Parasitic Habits of *Molothrus*, at seventy-two.

On the Modification of a Race of Syrian Street-Dogs by means of Sexual Selection, by Van Dyck, with a preliminary notice by C. Darwin.

To the Different Forms of Flowers on Plants of the Same Species he made the following significant comment: "No *little* discovery of mine ever gave me so much pleasure as the *making out of the meaning of heterostyled flowers*. The results of crossing such flowers in an illegitimate manner, I believe to be very important as bearing on the sterility of hybrids."⁹

It would be most undesirable to leave the impression that the affective transfer to Doctor Grant, through the support of his childhood wishes, alone made it possible for Darwin to overcome the wishes of his father, that he should become a physician or a minister, and devote his life to the particular work which gratified his mother's innocently placed wish. The friendship of Prof. Henslow, which, he says, "influenced my career more than any other" (p. 44) and, of the geologists, Sedgewick and Lyle, and others, besides the contributions to science which he read, furnished the medium through which his inspiration could work satisfactorily. The essential point is the fact that before he met Henslow, his affective trends had become quite definitely settled, and it was now only a matter of finding the proper associations and material with which to work.

⁹ Italics mine.

From nineteen to twenty-two he attended Cambridge to train himself for the ministry because, it seems, his father and sisters had decided that, since he would not study medicine, nothing else was desirable. Fortunately, they were not too resolutely persistent, and Darwin's yearnings were tenacious and vigorous enough to endure the disconcertions of classical literature until he met Professor Henslow. Professor Henslow, he says, was a man "whose knowledge was great in botany, entomology, chemistry, minerology, and geology" (p. 44) and who later became a minister. Perhaps this complex personality, as a life-long friend, saved Darwin from floundering under his father's resistance, after he had started on his course. Henslow's knowledge of biology gratified the wish to please mother, and his ministerial interests gratified the wish to please father. Later Henslow's inducement enabled Darwin to make a neat sublimation of the father's wishes.

At twenty-two, in Cambridge, he says (p. 47): "I read with care and profound interest Humboldt's Personal Narrative. This work, and Sir J. Herschel's Introduction to the Study of Natural Philosophy, stirred up in me a *burning zeal to add even the most humble contribution* to the noble structure of Natural Science.¹⁰ No one of a dozen other books influenced me nearly so much as these two." (His affective needs were ready for the books and these men, and he assimilated the scientific knowledge that helped to satisfy the ardent wish of his childhood with "burning zeal.")

Darwin's affective needs resisted his father's influence that he should study medicine or theology, even though he had obediently consented, upon his father's instigation, to become a clergyman, but they accepted Henslow's suggestion that he should study geology with enthusiasm. This course satisfied the childhood wish to know the names and secrets of minerals and made life sincerely worth while. Had it been necessary, for, say, psychiatric reasons, to take Darwin's life history at this time, his father would probably have conscientiously said that he was not a good student, indifferent to the serious interests of life, a sport, ratcatcher, card player, drinker, and waster of time, and more obstinate and self-willed than his brother. His brother, whom he called "poor old Philos" and "poor old Ras," had, by this time, completely submitted to the father's wish.

The origin of the subsidiary wish to travel, which also urged Darwin to make the important voyage of the *Beagle*, he attributes

¹⁰ Italics mine.

to "early in my schooldays a boy had a copy of the Wonders of the World, which I often read and disputed with the boys about the veracity of the statements; and I believe that this book first gave me a wish to travel in remote countries, which was ultimately fulfilled by the voyage of the *Beagle*" (p. 31). The voyage was additionally attractive because it enabled him to answer the wish of his childhood, to know the truth of the serious claims of his playmates and the author. In other words, his Journal of the Voyage of the *Beagle* improved the story of travels which he read in his childhood.

When the opportunity for the voyage of the *Beagle* came, through the kindness of Henslow, his master in science, he says his father "strongly objected, adding the words, fortunate for me, 'If you can find any man of common sense who advises you to go I will give my consent'" (p. 50). This vigorous protest, no doubt, was aggravated by Darwin's past three years of sporting indulgence at Cambridge, which he, himself, later, characterized as "time worse than wasted." His father had often rebuked him for his sporting proclivities and plainly said he was seriously afraid his son might become a regret to the family. Darwin's father had probably not forgotten the tragedy of his own brother's suicide and was at a loss to know how to influence his son. He had persisted in sending him to Edinburgh to study medicine and, when he refused to become interested, he had sent him to study theology at Cambridge, only to see him persistently waste his opportunities.

His son's method of wasting time and money, through sports, card-playing and drinking companions, has every attribute of being his manner of protesting against the impatient attitude of his father, who was an abstainer. Their affective resistances had become such a barrier that neither was able to satisfactorily influence the other. We learn that Darwin's sisters had become the medium of exchange of certain opinions between father and son from the fact that the father learned through his daughters that his son Charles was not interested in medicine. After the father had expressed his distrust of the voyage of the *Beagle*, Charles wrote a letter declining the opportunity and promptly went on a shooting trip to Maer. It was one of the interests his father objected to because he cared more for it than a profession.

The father's inability to see his son's zeal for scientific research in this vitally important request, as well as in the selection of an undesirable course of training for both of his sons, strikingly con-

trasts with the persistent manner in which Charles Darwin later attributed to his father the qualities of being "the wisest man" he ever saw and a man having "almost supernatural" powers of reading character. Additional facts, to be more fittingly presented later, shows decidedly that these conflicts greatly influenced the pathological nature of Darwin's later submission to his father and the over-compensation of gratitude which he developed. The letters relative to the *Beagle* opportunity show how extremely eager he was to go and how seriously he considered the opportunity, but also, how entirely, because of his affection for his father, he was dominated by the latter's opinion.

In a letter to Henslow he wrote: "My father, although he does not decidedly refuse me, gives such strong advice against going, that I should not be comfortable if I did not follow it" (p. 169).

"My father's objections are these: the unfitting me to settle down as a clergyman, my little habit of seafaring, *the shortness of the time*, and the chance of my not suiting Captain Fitz-Roy . . . if it had not been for my father I would have taken all risks . . . there certainly could not have been a better opportunity."

In the postscript occurs a sentence that clearly reveals Darwin's utter affective dependence upon his father's approbation and pleasure: "Even if I was to go, my father, disliking, would take away all my energy" (p. 170).

After Darwin had resigned himself to the loss of this wonderful opportunity he promptly went to the home of the Wedgwoods—his future father-in-law's. Apparently, there, they all talked it over, for the next day he wrote a letter to his father. It begins rather timidly:

"My dear Father—I am afraid I am going to make you again very uncomfortable. But, upon consideration, I think you will excuse me once again, stating my opinions on the offer of the voyage. My excuse and reason is the different way all the Wedgwoods view the subject from what you and my sisters do.

"I have given Uncle Jos what I fervently trust is an accurate and full list of your objections, and he is kind enough to give his opinions on all . . . may I beg of you one favour, it will be doing me the greatest kindness, if you will send me a decided answer, yes or no? If the latter, I should be most ungrateful if I did not implicitly yield to your better judgment, and to the kindest indulgence

you have shown me all through my life; and you may rely upon it I will never mention the subject again" (p. 171).

One can hardly help but be deeply impressed by this almost tragic appeal that this maturing male (twenty-two) makes for parental consent to his freedom of thought and behavior. Twice in the same letter he refers to the delicate question of idleness: "the time" (on the voyage) "I do not think, anyhow, would be more thrown away than if I stayed at home" and "I must again state I cannot think it would unfit me hereafter for a steady life." (Such earnest pleas as this, although he was a "ratcatcher," show how seriously he was interested in life, if only the controlling powers would let him be free.)

His father's list of objections reveal his attitude about his inability to direct his son's career.

"(1) Disreputable to my character as a clergyman hereafter.

"(2) A wild scheme.

"(3) That they must have offered to many others before me the place of Naturalist.

"(4) And from its not being accepted there must be some serious objection to the vessel or expedition.

"(5) That I should never settle down to a steady life hereafter.

"(6) That my accommodations should be most uncomfortable.

"(7) That you (Dr. Darwin) should consider it as again changing my profession.

"(8) That it would be a useless undertaking (p. 172)."

The objections 1, 2, 7, and 8, the most important, indicate that the father's resistances to naturalists' wasting time were probably the result of his economic stresses as a student and practitioner due to his own father being a rather indifferent provider, probably because of the enormous amount of time he sacrificed in unremunerative theorizing about nature. Charles Darwin says his "father's mind was not scientific, and he did not try to generalize his knowledge under general laws, yet he formed a theory for almost everything which occurred," which indicates that some resistance prevented him from grouping his theories like his father did.

To return to the objections—Josiah Wedgwood replied in a letter to Darwin's father, in which he took up each point separately and supported the wishes of his future son-in-law. The first objection is interesting in that it reveals what enlightened Englishmen thought of naturalists in 1831. "(1) I should not think that it would be in

any degree disreputable to his character as a clergyman. I should on the contrary think the offer honorable to him; and the pursuit of Natural History, though certainly not professional, is very suitable to a clergyman."

Darwin's father, fortunately, was not so obstinately cruel and self-centered as to resist this final plea from his son and relatives. He consented in "the kindest manner," and the enthusiasm with which Darwin reacted is revealed in several letters to his friends, in which such phrases as the following are to be found: (In regard to his liking his captain) "I am sure it will be my fault if we do not suit. What changes I have had. Till one" (o'clock probably) "today I was building castles in the air about hunting foxes in Shropshire, now llamas in South America. There is indeed a tide in the affairs of men"; (in regard to the sailing) "What a glorious day the fourth of November will be to me! *My second life will then commence, and it shall be as a birthday for the rest of my life*"¹¹ (p. 187); (to Henslow, whose "protege" he liked to consider himself to be) "*Gloria in excelsis* is the most moderate beginning (of the letter) I can think of;" (to his friend Fox he wrote) "Every now and then I have moments of glorious enthusiasm, when I think of the date and cocoa-tree, the palms and ferns so lofty and beautiful, everything new, everything sublime." When repressive influences are removed the affective response immediately rises with enthusiasm and exuberance. Smoky, noisy London became, for the first time in his life, "very pleasant, hurry, bustle and noise are all in unison with my thoughts;" and the crowded little ship became "the most perfect vessel that ever came out of the dockyard."

Darwin had a fine capacity for visualizing which is to be seen all through his letters, and there can be little doubt but that the "second birth" he referred to meant that he proposed to remain a naturalist, marry Emma Wedgwood and devote his "second life" to one long "birthday for the rest of my life."

The vigor of Darwin's interest in science, as a young man, certainly varied as his father's wishes forced him from the studies that gratified his affective attachment to his mother, and it was fortunate that his uncle was quite well aware of the family situation.

Darwin writes in his autobiography: "The voyage of the *Beagle* has been by far the most important event in my life and has determined my whole career; yet, it depended on so small a circumstance as my uncle (future father-in-law) offering to drive me thirty miles

¹¹ Italics mine.

to Shrewsbury, which few uncles would have done, and on such a trifle as the shape of my nose" (p. 51). The captain of the *Beagle* disliked the shape of Darwin's nose, believing that it indicated weakness of purpose and energy. He, however, was persuaded to accept the offer for service because of his zeal. This his father had failed to appreciate. (This complicated, decisive incident is comparable to an accidental association of mechanical or chemical devices that sometimes saves a man from a life of fruitless, painful striving after an inaccessible object by giving him a practical medium through which the wish may, at least, struggle freely for gratification.)

Darwin, as a psychological problem, would be only half considered, if we did not include an analysis of his chronic anxiety, which lasted over forty years, and attempt to estimate the nature of his affective repressions and his manner of dealing with them, because, in many essential respects, Darwin's difficulties were of the type that often become extremely destructive to the personality. It is quite probable that, had his father suppressed the voyage of the *Beagle*, it would have ruined his son, because the submission would have prevented the frank sublimation of his mother-attachment. This mechanism, perhaps in more active form, is frequently the most prominent factor in many dementia præcox cases.

The first indications that Darwin had a psychoneurotic tendency came out, as it would be expected, upon the first strenuous demands for adaptation when accompanied by home- or love-sickness, which bothered him greatly. Such symptoms as the following, occurring in a student, would lead one strongly to suspect an autoerotic difficulty that had not been completely mastered. Besides cardiac palpitation and anxiety he had other neurotic symptoms.

In a letter written September 6, 1831 (p. 180), to his sister, Susan, is the first significant reference to his personal difficulties. The unconscious manner in which the thoughts are associated together is quite important. He begins with a series of requests for wearing apparel, and, when he reaches the request for a little book, "If I have got it in my bedroom—'Taxidermy'." He adds: "Ask my father if he thinks there would be any objection to my taking arsenic for a little time, as my hands are not quite well, and I have *always* observed that if I once get them well, and change my manner of living about the same time, they will generally remain well. What is the dose? Tell Edward my gun is dirty. What is Erasmus' direction?"¹²

¹² Italics mine.

The arsenic tonic for the defective hands, of which he is unduly conscious while trying to make demonstration of his best qualities in order to be accepted for the voyage, is interestingly associated with the queer observation, which is given so much importance by the "always," that if he once got them well, that is, under control, and changed his *manner of living about the same time*, they generally remained well. This sort of phrase is enigmatical in almost any sense unless it reveals the manner in which he had mastered the natural onanistic curiosities of youth. The associations of taxidermy—arsenic—hands (tonic), show how frankly Darwin permitted his thoughts to associate, hence, tonic, defective hands, defective gun and Erasmus should be considered to have been written in the same trend of thought. Erasmus was biologically not a well-developed heterosexual type, was not creative, retired while a young man and never married.

It is very interesting, in this connection, that, three days later, Darwin again wrote to the same sister (p. 182): "Captain Fitz-Roy first wished a naturalist, and then he seems to have taken a sudden horror of the chances of having somebody he should not like on board the vessel." In the previously quoted letter in the paragraph following the arsenic requests, he says "from Captain Fitz-Roy wishing me so much to go, and, from his kindness, I feel a predestination I shall start." (Fitz-Roy seems to have been about twenty-three at this time and the two were to share quarters together. Later, while at sea, Fitz-Roy developed a negativistic attitude toward Darwin which almost disrupted the voyage. At sixty-seven Darwin said he "was a man very difficult to live with on the intimate terms which followed from our messing by ourselves in the same cabin" (p. 51). This indicates that Fitz-Roy was inclined to become irritable under the strain of sexual suppression). From his autobiographic comments, Darwin apparently mistook Fitz-Roy's reference to his sensuous nose as his true reason for not taking him on the journey. It is quite probable that the astute Doctor Darwin was well aware of his son's personal difficulties, if we consider the manner in which he read the sexual difficulties of his patients, which Darwin characterized as "supernatural." This may have been the true basis for the fear that it might ruin him for the ministry. Homosexuality is a serious problem among seamen. In the same letter, Darwin shows that he met the emergency and mastered himself completely for he says, following his comments on his successful bargain for new pistols and a gun, and Fitz-Roy's fine guns,

that he would not need to take arsenic. The final arrangements had then been made and the slightly regressive tendency was relieved. According to some psychiatric notions, the neurotic and cardiac symptoms, plus a suicidal uncle, would have branded Darwin as a constitutional inferior failing to accommodate under stress.

It was not until five weeks after his letter, in which he mentioned Fitz-Roy's uneasiness, that he bared the yearnings of his soul to this stranger, instinctively assuring him that all was well by the splendid sublimation that, on the day of sailing "my second life will then commence, and it shall be as a birthday for the rest of my life." The nature of the fifty-two years of married life that followed the voyage show clearly how well Darwin meant exactly what he said.

No doubt Fitz-Roy and Darwin had no occasion to lose their esteem for one another. The voyage lasted about five instead of three years during which time Darwin suffered severely from seasickness, nausea, vomiting and dizziness, but the enormous amount of work he did, and the accuracy of his journal, which has been incorporated in the Harvard Classics, show how splendidly he sublimated his affective cravings.

While on the voyage, he had a serious illness which his father was unable to diagnose from a description of the symptoms, but it can hardly be assumed to have left a debilitating effect, because, after the voyage, while working at his specimens, he wrote of his good health and spirits.

Doctor W. W. Johnson,¹³ in his article on *The Ill Health of Charles Darwin: Its Nature and Relation to His Work*, in which he covers the symptoms and the physical stresses of the voyage, and his intense method of work, concludes that the illness was "chronic neurasthenia."

Dr. G. M. Gould in his *Biographic Clinics* reviews the case of Charles Darwin, and, after discussing Doctor Johnson's diagnosis, concludes that the ill health was due to "eye-strain." Both men seem to have either overlooked or given little importance to the anxiety about his hands that Darwin complained of before the voyage or to the affective problems involved.

The indications, many of which have been collected in the following discussion, are that, if we will consider the nature of Darwin's work, what it meant to him, what he anticipated it would mean to civilization and the excited criticisms it would arouse, the

¹³ *American Anthropologist*, Vol. III, 1901.

attitude of his father, and his manner of working, it is quite probable that he suffered from an anxiety neurosis due to consistent affective repression. The nature of the affective repression will be discussed after other important personal traits of Darwin and the symptoms of his illness have been fully covered.

About two years after his return from the voyage of the *Beagle*, he began to be troubled by becoming occasionally "unwell." I could find no definite account of an organic disease until he was an old man, and none of his physicians, including his father, seemed to consider an organic lesion as the cause of his illness. Many hints as to the symptoms and nature of his anxiety neurosis may be found scattered throughout the biography published by his son, Francis, and in his letters and autobiography. Some of the more definite remarks are here collected together because they indicate the nature of the anxiety neurosis, and, from an analysis of his compensations and methods of obtaining relief from anxiety, we are enabled to acquire an insight into the nature of his affective struggle and the determinants of his final course of living.

In the critical years between his return from the voyage of the *Beagle* (twenty-seven) and his marriage (thirty) to settling at Down (thirty-three), Darwin passed through his final affective reformation. He was inclined to reflect deeply on the subject of religion, read books on metaphysics which indicates that he still conscientiously considered the ministry and "the subject was much before his mind" (p. 274) but he says:

"Disbelief crept over me at a very slow rate, but was at last complete. The rate was so slow that I felt no distress." During these years the first important experience of becoming "unwell" is recorded and the later course of his anxiety indicates that it was a reaction to his efforts to adjust himself for his career, his father, and his mating. (It is important to recognize the fact that individuals having too strong an affective attachment to one of their parents, often experience an unfathomable anxiety when they attempt to mate, because in the mating the individual tends to repress the affective interests that do not idealize the love-object, and this repressed affect produces anxiety through its struggles to break through the resistance so as to find its own love-object.)

He married at thirty and lived in London, but at thirty-three he retired to the restful seclusion of Down. As he grew older, he isolated himself more and more from social intercourse. The summer before his retreat to Down he went alone on one more geologizing tour

to North Wales and this was the last time he tried to climb a mountain. What final resolutions and emotional changes Darwin experienced on this trip are not recorded by him, but shortly after this he retired to Down, where he became a chronic invalid and his wife-mother became his devoted nurse. Francis Darwin fittingly says: "No one, indeed, except my mother, knows the full amount of suffering he endured, or the full amount of his wonderful patience. For all the latter years of his life she never left him for a night; and her days were so planned that all his resting hours might be shared with her. She shielded him from every avoidable annoyance, and omitted nothing that might save him trouble, or prevent him becoming overtired, or that might alleviate the many discomforts of his ill health." "For nearly forty years" (almost throughout his marriage) "he never knew of one day of health like the ordinary man and thus his life was one long struggle against the weariness and strain of sickness. And this cannot be told without speaking of *one condition which enabled him to bear the strain and fight out the struggle to the end.*"¹⁴

Another most important fact must be added because it enabled him to play in nature study according to his wishes. His economic independence was established through his father's good will. It must be recognized that his mothering-wife and his economic independence, as a secure source of protection for his family and himself, made it possible for him to endure his chronic affective conflict because he could thereby avoid the aggravations that usually arise when an individual, having serious affective repressions, is required to adapt himself to the demands of a self-indulgent mate or the stresses of competitive business. These two facts probably saved Darwin from utter ruin long before the *Origin of Species* could have been published.

During the critical period of affective renunciation of orthodox mysticism for the more serious and more sacred truths of Nature, from twenty-seven to thirty, Darwin's interest changed in other important respects. He discovered, "unconsciously and insensibly, that the pleasure of observing and reasoning was a *much higher* one than that of skill and sport"¹⁴ (p. 53). He also became definitely convinced of his own place in nature and the significance of his theory of evolution. He says (pp. 75, 76): "As soon as I had become, in 1837 or 1838 (age twenty-eight or twenty-nine) convinced

¹⁴ Italics mine.

that species were mutable productions, I could not avoid the belief that man must come under the same law. Accordingly I collected all notes on the subject for my own satisfaction, and for a long time without any intention of publishing." His cautiousness shows how clearly he foresaw the criticisms that would be hurled at him because of the pain his theories would arouse in others. His ability to recognize this, of course, could only have come from the pain he himself experienced when he quietly renounced his orthodox wishes as to the future of man. His next sentence shows how clearly he apprehended the nature of the illegitimate claims orthodox minds are tempted to make in the name of religious righteousness. He says: "Although in the *Origin of Species* the derivation of any particular species is never discussed yet I thought it best, in order that no honorable man should accuse me of concealing my views, to add that by the work 'light would be thrown on the origin of man and his history'" (p. 76).

His first child was born when he was thirty, and he says: "I at once commenced to make notes on the first dawn of the various expressions which he exhibited, for I felt convinced, even at this early period, that the most complex and fine shades of expression must all have had a gradual and natural origin." (In this respect Freud's contribution, that the sexual functions evolve gradually as a variation from nutritional functions, is neither a new nor a radical departure.)

It is worthy of consideration that Darwin's father, although he hated medicine, submitted, and, from having "no choice," followed his own father's profession. He was unable to accept the implications as to the origin of man that were taught by his father's theories in *Zoönomia*, that all forms of life were "one family of one parent." Besides this resistance, he strongly inclined that his son Charles, after he had refused to become a physician, should accept, *en masse*, the dogmas of the Church of England and become a country clergyman. (This seems to have been an unconscious expression of opposition to *Zoönomia*.) These factors indicate that the father's resistance to his son's yearnings to work on the same problems that had interested his grandfather had a far deeper emotional determination than probably any of the family allowed themselves to consider. That Charles Darwin's consecration of himself to science was a most sacred resolution is firmly supported by the zeal, patience, and care with which he worked, as well as such statements as this, in his autobiography; "I remember when in Good

Success Bay, in Tierra del Fuego, thinking (and, I believe, that I wrote home to that effect) that I could not employ my life better than in adding a little to Natural Science. This I have done to the best of my ability and critics may say what they like, but they cannot destroy this conviction" (p. 73). The delicate manner in which father and son had to adjust their wishes is indicated by the statement regarding the intention that he should become a clergyman: "Nor was this intention and my father's wish ever formally given up, but died a natural death, when, on leaving Cambridge, I joined the *Beagle* as naturalist."

It is permissible to infer, therefore, that Darwin's *consecration* of himself as a naturalist for the welfare of humanity, besides gratifying and beautifully sublimating his mother-attachment, also gratified his father's desire that he should religiously consecrate himself to the welfare of humanity, which is remarkably like the mechanism of the sacrifice of the devoted Son, Christ, if we consider certain other facts.

At thirty-three, incidentally the year of the Crucifixion, he retired from London to seclude himself for the remainder of his life in the isolated, rural home of Down. That he literally wrote his studies of nature with consecrated devotion is obvious from his life of self-denial, the careful exactness with which he maintained his working schedule, Sundays, as well as week-days, the enormous output of material, some seven thousand (7,000) pages of scientific research, the "sacredness" with which he regarded the objects of his study, his humility, and the anxiety he endured lest he should make a mistake or offend some one.

Probably the same biological cravings that dominate us all and have insisted upon cherishing the fantasies about the renunciation of envy by Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, the Crucifixion, and Burial of all selfish, worldly (sporting) interests, and the conversion and ascension in life through seeking truth and generously tolerating censure, urged Darwin irresistibly onward. For the sake of Man, he endured the taunts and ridicule and curses of the orthodox thinkers of his time as Christ is said to have endured the persecutions of the orthodox Jew nineteen hundred years ago.

It is a very serious undertaking for a man to consecrate himself too severely to his inspirations. Comparatively rugged vulgarity and mischievousness are emotional exercises that have an important balancing influence and prevent too consistent repressions of affective interests of an important type as well as distressing

atrophy in others. The personality tends to become psychopathic, not unlike the seclusive, shut-in, fanciful hero Christ and many of our paranoid psychopaths, who heedlessly accept their inspirations without controlling them. Observations of Darwin's behavior from thirty-three until after seventy show the nature of his anxiety. Until his marriage, Darwin was very vigorous, fond of sports, and endured physical hardships on his explorations with little distress.

At forty, he wrote to Doctor Hooker, "'Everyone tells me that I look quite blooming and beautiful; and most think I am shamming, but you have never been one of those.' And it must be remembered that at this time he was miserably ill, far worse than in later years" (p. 90). We are told that "His expression showed no signs of the continual discomfort he suffered," even though, "when he was excited with pleasant talk his whole manner was wonderfully bright and animated and his face shared to the full in the general animation."

"Like most delicate people, he suffered from heat as well as from chilliness; it was as if he could not hit the balance between too hot and too cold; often a *mental cause* would make him too hot, so that he would take off his coat if anything went wrong in the course of his work."¹⁵ (This observation gives at least some insight into the delicate affective balance on which Darwin's self-control swung and how quickly he overcompensated for the fear of making a mistake or doing something he might regret. He was pathologically conscientious, exceeding by far the limitations of common sense. Another example of his hyper-conscientiousness is to be seen in his letter writing. "He received many letters from foolish, unscrupulous people and all of these received replies. He used to say that if he did not answer them he had it on his conscience afterwards. He had a printed form to be used in replying to troublesome correspondents, but he hardly ever used it" (p. 97).

Darwin's kindness and appreciation of the interests of others was so *remarkably* developed that it must be considered to be more than a grateful compensation for his burdensomeness to others for we find it to have been a consistent reaction, even with unknown, "unscrupulous correspondents," and his publisher, who had never met him, said: "Everything I did (for Darwin) was right, and everything was properly thanked for." We also find that in conversation he was peculiarly anxious not to become burdensome by repeating a story twice or by talking when others showed impulses to do so.

¹⁵ Italics mine.

The spontaneous development of such traits of hyperappreciativeness may have, as a compensatory growth, a logical inciting cause in the fear of being offensive, ungrateful, and unappreciative. The cause of this fear, however, since the soothing nature of his own family life was almost perfect, must be looked for in a repressed emotional impulse that he had to be incessantly on guard against and which, perhaps, contributed to wearying him into invalidism.

A further indication of his emotional difficulties is to be seen in his habits. "After dinner he never stayed in the room, and used to apologize by saying he was an old woman who must be allowed to leave with the ladies. This was one of the many signs and results of his constant weakness and ill health. Half an hour, more or less, of conversation would make the loss perhaps of half the next day's work. He became much tired in the evenings, especially of late years, when he left the drawing-room about ten, going to bed at half-past ten. His nights were generally bad, and he often lay awake or sat up in bed for hours, suffering much discomfort. He was troubled at night by the activity of his thoughts, and would become exhausted by his mind working at some problem which he would willingly have dismissed. At night, too, *anything which had vexed or troubled him in the day would haunt him, and I think it was then that he suffered if he had not answered some troublesome person's letter*" (p. 101).¹⁶

This duly confirms the impression that Darwin's careful gratefulness and conscientiousness was also a necessary compensation to protect himself from anxiety, the horrors of sleepless nights, and uncontrollable thoughts. He dared not become contentious or critical, because, if he did, even in little conversations, assume the postural attitude necessary for the successful criticism of another, the repressed affect literally overwhelmed his self-control and could not be checked even in the late hours of night. (Darwin often admired Huxley's wit and capacity to make retorts in discussions. He himself lost this capacity which, it seems, naturally occurs when one's attention is incessantly preoccupied with the details of original research.) This unfortunate man must have suffered excruciating distress in his later years as his resistance weakened, but, sitting up in bed, a defense against anxiety and fear, with his wife, who dared not leave him alone at night, they shared the distress together.

That this disturbance of function had an affective basis and not

¹⁶ Italics mine.

an organic one is indicated, not only by the fine old age he reached, but by the fact that most people regarded him to be in good health and shamming, and no organic lesions were found by his physicians until his last years.

"Any public appearance, even in the most modest kind, was an effort for him," even the marriage of his eldest daughter caused undue fatigue and he was unable to attend the funeral of his father. He rarely travelled, and, even if he were leaving home for a week, the packing had to be begun early on the previous day, and the chief part of it *he would do himself*. "The discomfort of a journey to him was, at least latterly, *chiefly in the anticipation*, and in the miserable sinking feeling from which he suffered *immediately before the start*; even a fairly long journey, such as that to Coniston, tired him wonderfully little, considering how much of an invalid he was" (p. 107).¹⁷

This sort of fatigue and weakness, due to *anticipation*, reminds one of the fatigue that is so disastrous to athletes when they become overly anxious before a race or game. The extent to which his anxiety might affect him when in society may be gathered from his comment in his autobiography: "My health almost always suffered from the excitement, violent shivering and vomiting attacks being thus brought on. I have therefore been compelled for many years to give up all dinner-parties; and this has been somewhat of a deprivation to me as such parties always put me into high spirits. From the same cause I have been able to invite here very few scientific acquaintances." So methodically did he have to live that his schedule could not be comfortably varied from week-day to Sunday.

It is quite evident that Darwin's constant problem was to protect himself from anticipations and conflicts because his autonomic-affective reactions caused severe anxiety and insomnia. It is to be regretted because of its great importance to psychology, that the nature of his obsessive thoughts and dreams under such conditions were not recorded.

A contributory cause of Darwin's tendency to anxiety and excitement must be recognized in the important fact that he was a sincere man and his discoveries of the laws of nature, destined to subtly produce a serious change in religious practices, was severely criticized by the rampant orthodox with probably as much vindictive unreasonableness as psychoanalysis is enduring today.

The isolation of himself from the public greatly protected him,

¹⁷ Italics mine.

but this would hardly be sufficient to protect him from the fear of making a mistake, or of wasting time, or of offending his father.

The most disastrous effects of chronic anxiety are of course digestive and nutritional, and Darwin's digestive functions were seriously affected. His long, thin legs showed the meagerness of his powers to assimilate nourishment. It seems that the most satisfactory treatment he found was "hydropathic," and his biography indicates that he must have tried many forms of treatment.

Darwin's interests in life were most decidedly eccentric if compared to the interests of the average healthy scientific researcher. He exercised little interest in business, disliked the theater, and read little current literature besides his newspaper unless it was associated with scientific work. He was very fond of novels, but his serious interests were devoted entirely to certain genetic problems in biology and geology. He says: "*My chief enjoyment and sole employment throughout life* has been scientific work; and the excitement from such work makes me for the time forget or drives away my daily discomfort" (p. 65).¹⁸

His manner of working in regard to saving time also shows how intensely he had compensated for the charge of being a waster of time in his youth. Francis Darwin says, as to his manner of working, "one characteristic of it was his respect for time; he never forgot how precious it was. This was shown, for instance, in the way in which he tried to curtail his holidays; also, and more clearly, with respect to shorter periods. He would often say that saving the minutes was the way to get work done; he showed his love of saving the minutes in the difference he felt between a quarter of an hour and ten minutes' work; *he never wasted a few spare minutes from thinking that it was not worth while to set to work.* I was often struck by his way of working up to the very limit of his strength so that he suddenly stopped in dictating with the words, 'I believe I mustn't do any more.' The same eager desire not to lose time was seen in his quick movements when at work" (p. 121).¹⁸

"He saved a great deal of time through not having to do anything twice. Although he would patiently go on repeating experiments where there was any good to be gained, he could not endure having to repeat an experiment which ought, if complete care had been taken, to have succeeded the first time—and this gave him a continual anxiety that the experiment should not be wasted; he felt the experiment to be *sacred*, however slight a one it was" (p. 122).

¹⁸ Italics mine.

"In the literary part of his work he had the same horror of losing time, and the same zeal in what he was doing at the moment, and this made him careful not to be obliged, unnecessarily, to read anything a second time" (p. 122).

In regard to saving funds, he is said also to have used the backs of his note-sheets in order not to waste paper, and, because of this, many historically interesting sheets were destroyed.

The above-noted characteristics about saving time, energy, opportunity and material were decidedly more developed than is characteristic for the average biological researcher. Why? What strange influence could have determined this trait of character?

As a schoolboy, preceding, during and after adolescence, his father, besides others, regarded him to be more stupid and lazier than the average boy and his father was honestly afraid he would become a source of regret to his family. When he came to his father for consent and encouragement to make the cherished voyage of the *Beagle*, he was derided for utterly lacking common sense; and, when he returned home, the "sensitive" father did not frankly acknowledge his interest as a naturalist or his intellectual improvement, and admit that he had been mistaken in his judgment, but, compromisingly, turned to one of his daughters and remarked: "Why! the shape of his head is quite altered!" (p. 53). This was a phrenological observation which approved of the signs of intellectual improvement in his son but did not offer a frank retraction of his former impression and create an opportunity for honest emotional readjustment. Darwin precedes this comment in his autobiography with the significant statement, in the same paragraph, "I discovered, though unconsciously and insensibly, that the pleasure of observing and reasoning was a much higher one than that of skill and sport. That my mind became developed through my pursuits during the voyage is rendered probable by a remark (quoted above) made by my father, who was the most acute observer whom ever I saw, of a skeptical disposition, and far from being a believer in phrenology."

This revelation, an additional reason for Darwin's change of interest from sports to intellectual pursuits, becomes duly significant when we associate with it the fact that his father when he heard from his daughters that Charles did not like the thought of becoming a physician, proposed that he should become a clergyman. "He was very properly vehement against my turning into an idle sporting man which he considered my probable destination." His father

regarded a voyage with the *Beagle* as a "wild scheme" and an idle, sporting adventure. The romantic circumstances in which Darwin's uncle testified for Darwin's sincerity of purpose, no doubt, put it up to his honor not to betray his uncle's confidence and, moreover, to win his beloved father's approbation, lest he should later regret having given his consent; hence the gradual change of interest from worldly sports to higher interests of reasoning as a compensatory wish-fulfillment.

The enormous collection of observations that Darwin made on this voyage verified his sincerity and diligence, but it did not win frank approbation, as the father's behavior showed in the first critical moment of meeting the returning prodigal, but self-respecting, son.

His father, though deeply sympathetic, was too sensitive to make the complete admission that the voyage had proven to be a common-sense proposition, and that he had been mistaken in his judgment. Darwin's regard for his father prevented him from showing any disappointment at the evasive greeting upon his return home after five years of adventure in the obscure quarters of the earth, but, in his later years, his "peculiar" use of admiring superlatives in regard to his father's wisdom and sympathy indicate that it was probably at that time that all feelings of disappointment in his father's attitude were resolutely repressed, and the father was accepted as utterly unable to do a wrong. The disappointment in his father's judgment was kept repressed by overevaluating his wisdom. Francis Darwin makes the significant comment: "Charles Darwin's recollection of everything that was connected with his father was peculiarly distinct and he spoke of him frequently; *generally prefacing an anecdote with some phrase as 'My father, who was the wisest man I ever knew'*" (p. 10).¹⁹ "His reverence for him was boundless and most touching. He would have wished to judge *everything else* in the world dispassionately, but anything his father had said was received with *implicit faith* (p. 10). In contrast to this significant, complete acceptance of his father's word (whereby, of course, all possibility of conflict of opinion or expression of doubt and displeasure was removed) we find that Darwin said to his daughter, as she writes it, that "He hoped none of his sons would ever believe anything because he said it, unless they were themselves convinced of its truth—a feeling in striking contrast with his own manner of faith" (p. 10) and a direct admission that his

¹⁹ Italics mine.

attitude toward his father was not a healthy one, but the best adjustment that he could make under the circumstances of (1) his affective attachment to his father, whereby he was the victim of his transference, and his love for his mother and her interest, (2) his economic dependence, and (3) the necessity of avoiding conflicts in order that he would not be distracted from his researches.

The carefulness with which Darwin adjusted is to be seen in his "peculiarly distinct" recollection of "everything that was connected with his father" and his secret difficulties, which passed unobserved by most people, may be estimated by the following impressions he had of his father. He was "very sensitive, so that many small events annoyed and pained him much. He was easily made angry, but his kindness was unbounded" (p. 18). (If not made angry, is to be presumed.) Darwin's father seemed to have an unforgettable memory for painful events, because, when he became older and unable to practise he refused to go driving for the reason that every road was associated with painful memories. It may be repeated here that Darwin also characterized his father as: "His chief mental characteristics were his powers of observation and his sympathy, neither of which I have ever seen exceeded or even equalled" (p. 11) and "the most remarkable power which my father possessed was that of reading characters and even the thoughts of those whom he saw even for a short time; some instances of his power almost seemed supernatural" (p. 12). This gives us an idea of the difficulties Darwin must have had in maintaining a submissive posture or attitude that kept his father comfortable, whereby he renounced all independence of thought in relation to his father, submissively accepting his every opinion or statement without reserve and not to be questioned.

This probably explains the cause of "a fatality" of reasoning which Darwin had to struggle with. When anyone makes a new deduction or an original statement or theory, *if it is correct*, it, more or less, reflects an atmosphere of superiority of thought upon himself, and, logically, an implication of inferiority of thought upon other people. This is probably why lawyers, ministers, scientists, artists, actors, physicians, mechanics, psychoanalysts, ball-players, debutantes, cooks, i. e., wherever individuals compete for recognition by displaying the same powers or interests, they have difficulty in recognizing the superiority of the other individual's qualifications. The recognition usually comes from those who are not directly competing. Darwin's theories were more generally ac-

cepted by the younger naturalists who were competing with the established naturalists, and the older men, who could not reconstruct their work, refused to accept the theory, preferring their "standing" rather than the actual truth. The feud between Freud, Jung and Adler has a similar ingredient as also the feud between psychoanalysts and the old school of psychologists and psychiatrists.

With this mechanism in mind a determinant is to be seen for the variation in asserting potency displayed by Erasmus Darwin, grandfather, poet-naturalist and physician, and Robert Darwin, physician, with theorizing capacities highly developed but not finished, and Charles Darwin, son, who refused to be a physician but resumed his grandfather's work on origin of species and rewrote the theory in an improved, but decidedly individualistic form.

Darwin, by his refusal to become a clergyman, had formally given his father to understand that he could not accept the Church of England's and his father's impressions as to man's place in nature and the expression of his views had to be most considerately made so as not to assert himself heedlessly upon his father's wisdom. Like all such adjustments between superior officers and subordinates, the subordinate usually suffers from a retarding tendency to misexpress himself whereby he leaves an opening for the superior to display the fact that his position is still one of dominant potency. Darwin complains (p. 80): "I have as much difficulty as ever in expressing myself clearly and concisely; and this difficulty has caused me a great loss of time; . . . There seems to be a sort of fatality in my mind leading me to put at first my statement in a wrong or awkward form." The wrong form invites a self-assertion from another, as does also the awkward form offer a chance for more graceful display of self by another.

There is considerable evidence to show that this person who was always more or less in mind was none other than his father. Darwin was completely independent of all other people. This "fatal" tendency might have deprived humanity of the theory of evolution, because, although Darwin had quite clearly formulated it at thirty, he did not present it until fifty-six. His father died when Darwin was thirty-nine, but the death of the repressive influence does not relieve the repressed affect so long as the memory is revered and cherished. It was only upon the "strong advice of Lyell and Hooker" (p. 70) that Darwin accumulated enough initiative to prepare a volume on the transmutation of species. The

moral support of Henslow, whose protege Darwin liked to consider himself, and Lyell and Hooker, fortunately counteracted the affective resistance to free self-expression as a naturalist, which is clearly traceable to the sincere father's painful manner of yielding to the voyage of the *Beagle*.

Darwin compensated for the persistent paining of his father by elevating him to the revered, immortal height of godliness as the wisest, most sympathetic, most observing of all men. Such affective attitudes toward the father, during a psychosis, is always indicative of renunciation of all affective competitiveness with the father in order to keep peace while secretly love is claiming for itself the mother's supreme interest.

I have seen this frequently, distinctly illustrated in young men. In a typical instance, the only son of a devoted, beautiful mother was in constant anxiety lest he should suddenly die from cardiac failure or strangulation, who, in a confidential moment, with unmistakable pleasure, said that his mother had often told him that she loved him more than she did his father. He was distressed by incestuous dreams and the fact that he and his father were always hostile and unable to understand one another. He could not admit that they hated one another, and though he wished to love his father he could not give up stealing his mother's affections for himself. Such secret intrigue was punished by the fear that he must (ought to) die and renounce his enmity. The crucifixion or dying of patients, who feel that they are Christs, is always attended by severe anxiety. This mechanism has been observed in many of our cases.

It is evident that the affective relationship between father and son had a most significant, direct influence on the formulation of the theory of evolution, which will be still further shown later.

As to the repressed affect that distressed Darwin and added considerably to his invalidism, we are given an indication of its nature by his methods of obtaining relaxation; that is, relief from its pressure.

He says: "Novels, which are works of the imagination, though not of a very high order, have been for years a wonderful delight and pleasure to me, and I often bless all novelists. A surprising number have been read aloud to me, and I like all, if moderately good, and *if they do not end unhappily*—against which a law ought to be passed. A novel, according to my taste, does not come into the first class unless it contains *some person whom one can thor-*

oughly love, and if a pretty woman, all the better."²⁰ In this tendency to become unduly distressed by a novel in which hate and misfortune triumph over love, and, on the other hand, of almost requiring a diet of novels in which some character won the reader's love, is also a strong indication that Darwin suffered from repressions of affect, which, if allowed free play, might have pained him in his devotion for his dominating father. This would have shattered his own peace infinitely worse than slighting the letter of an unscrupulous correspondent. Rather than permit the recalcitrant competitive craving free play, he incessantly repressed it and never relaxed his vigil. This was not only done to keep from paining those he loved, but also to protect his powers for research by avoiding the distractions that attend arguments and dissensions. He regarded himself as being "not quick enough to hold an argument with any one." "Unless it was a subject on which he was just then at work he could not get the train of argument into working order quickly enough" (p. 117), which shows how deeply he became concentrated on the problem that he worked on. We must recognize that his self-isolation, in Down, from nearly all social contact, enabled him the more to enjoy the free play of his love for biological research, but the eccentric nature of the self-isolation was made necessary by the ease with which he lost control of himself in a conflict. This, in turn, must be recognized as being largely due to the nature of the repressed affective tendencies. "When he felt strongly about . . . a question, he could hardly trust himself to speak, as he then easily became angry, a thing which he disliked exceedingly. He was conscious that his anger had a tendency to *multiply* itself in the utterance, and for this reason dreaded (for example) having to scold a servant" (p. 118).

The above characteristics indicate that Darwin could not trust himself to conflict with others or protest with anger because the repressed affect, that was being held back like an uncoiled spring, tended to become associated with the anger of the moment and it *multiplied* too rapidly to be controlled. In this light we can understand why he accepted everything his father said as final.

It is quite reasonable to give considerable value also to the fact that, although Darwin had to resist his father's wishes until after the voyage of the *Beagle*, in order to gratify the affective attachment to his mother, after he had fairly clearly formulated his theory

²⁰ Italics mine.

of evolution at thirty, about the time of his marriage, it became obvious to him that the successful proving of his theory lay in his finding a means for devoting all of his life to study, and this his father could easily give him if he were so disposed. This fact, making him that source of nourishment and physical comfort, emphasized the father's omnipotence, and, in his resignation to it, Darwin further renounced independence of affective expression in his relations with him. In one sense, this was fortunate for science and civilization, because it gave him more freedom for affective gratification in the one direction that alone could fascinate him, but, in another sense, it almost ruined his life and spoiled his theory of evolution. No doubt the accidental fitness of Mrs. Darwin, as a mate, saved him. In such adjustments between father and son, when the mate is unsuitable, an incurable mental disaster may result.

The influence of this affective conflict upon his conception of the origin of species and his formulation of the theory of evolution, which was to free science of many suppressive influences, is most interesting. At twenty-nine, when he (p. 68) happened to read for amusement Malthus on Population, he promptly appreciated the significance of the universal struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest, not only because he had enormous collections of such biological data in mind, that became readily correlated with the law, but, because it was his *personal experience*. This evidently was exactly the mechanism of his own triumphant emotional struggle with his father's wish. He was experiencing, from, perhaps, obscure emotional sources, the enthusiasm of the survival of the fittest, because his older brother, whom he affectionately called "poor old Philos" (philosopher), had yielded to the father's domination and studied medicine even though he disliked it and retired soon after graduating, whereas he himself, through his persistence and courage, had triumphed.

Most significantly, Darwin comments (p. 68): "It at once struck me . . . favourable variations (mother's favorite)²¹ would tend to be preserved and unfavourable ones to be destroyed. The result would be the formation of new species," "Poor old Philos" never married, and that word "poor" unconsciously expressed Darwin's appreciation of his brother's silent tragedy. He continues further: "Here then, I had at last got a theory by which to work, but I was so anxious to avoid prejudice that I determined not for some time

²¹ Parenthesis mine.

to write even the briefest sketch of it." As to how much excitement the reading of Malthus on Population caused Darwin can only be conjectured, but he at least felt the necessity of guarding himself against "prejudice."

This cautiousness of Darwin contrasts strikingly with the impulsiveness of Wallace, although both men, when they realized the biological significance of the survival of the fittest, were decidedly aided by their own personal experiences. According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, Wallace, "while lying muffled in blankets" (struggling) "in the cold fit of a severe attack of intermittent fever" (in the isolated tropical Moluccas) "began to think of Malthus's Essay on Population (which he had read several years previously), and to use his own words, 'there suddenly flashed upon me the idea of the survival of the fittest.' The theory was thought out during the rest of the ague fit, drafted the same evening, written out in full in the two succeeding evenings, and sent to Darwin by the next post." (This inspiration saved his name and brought him his greatest honor. It was clearly an effort to save something of himself from the onslaught of disease.)

Darwin and Wallace differed in their valuation of certain factors in evolution, and this can be traced to *personal experience* and *wish-fulfillment*. In their joint essay "On the Tendency of Species to Form Varieties; and on the Perpetuation of Varieties and Species by Means of Natural Selection" Darwin used the phrases "natural selection . . . which selects exclusively for the good of each organic being" and "sexual selection"; whereas, Wallace emphasized "the struggle for existence."

Even more astonishing is the fact that Darwin, before he had read Malthus, while contemplating marrying his cousin, his mother's niece, made the scientific conclusion, which he entered in his diary, that "*selection was the keystone of man's success. But how selection could be applied to organisms living in a state of nature remained a mystery to me,*"²² showing clearly that this man, as well as Wallace, whose scientific formulations are molding the course of modern civilization, even though rigorously trying to follow pure reason, was unable to avoid unconsciously founding his sincerest conclusions upon his own most delicate emotional strivings.

Three years after his marriage, at thirty-three, he first wrote a brief abstract of his theory, and, at sixty-seven, he made the signif-

²² Italics mine.

icant comment (p. 68): "At the time I overlooked one problem of great importance; and it is astonishing to me, on the principle of Columbus and the egg, how I could have overlooked it and its solution. This problem is the tendency in organic beings descended from the same stock to diverge in character as they become modified. That they diverged greatly is obvious from the manner in which species of all kinds can be classed as genera, genera under families, families under sub-orders, and so forth; and *I can remember the very spot in the road, whilst in my carriage, when to my joy (symptoms of relieved repressions) the solution occurred to me; and this was long after I had come to Down.* The solution, as I believe, is that the modified offspring of all dominant and increasing forms tend to become adapted to many and highly diversified places in the economy of nature."²³ What affective resistances prevented him from seeing a principle which he characterized as being as simple as Columbus and the egg? The source of resistance may be quite surely inferred when we consider that the principle means that progressive divergence is an advantage in itself, because the competition is most severe between organisms most closely related, since they require the same food and love-objects, hence it could not help but be associated with the old delicate competition between himself and his father for his mother's affections. The phrase about modified offspring tending to become adapted to diversified places in nature has an interesting example in his marriage to an obvious mother-image, mother's niece, and their retirement from the world to the seclusion of Down, of which he says, "few persons could have lived a more retired life than we have. Besides short visits to the houses of relations, and occasionally to the seaside or elsewhere, we have gone nowhere." It seems not even to the continent. For over forty years, throughout his progressive divergence from his father's wish, she was his wife—mother—nurse.

In 1869, at the age of sixty, Charles Darwin, accompanied by his daughter, visited the home of his childhood, twenty-one years after his father's death. The tenant showed them over the place and with mistaken hospitality did not leave the party. "As they were leaving, Darwin said, with a pathetic look of regret, 'If I could have been left alone in that *green-house* for five minutes,²⁴ I know I should have been able to see my father in his wheel-chair as vividly as if he had

²³ Italics and parenthesis mine.

²⁴ Italics mine.

been there before me." (The green-house, nature study is the point at which the father and son began a progressive divergence.)

"Perhaps this incident shows what I think is the truth, that the memory of his father he loved the best, was that of him as an old man." Mrs. Litchfield, Darwin's daughter, describes him as saying with the most tender respect: "I think my father was a little unjust to me when I was young, but afterwards I am thankful to think I became a prime favorite with him" (pp. 10, 11).

It is interesting that the wish to visualize his father so vividly, "as if he had been there," was naturally inclined to recall the image of him as a dependent old man, and no longer the father with "the art of making one obey him to the letter" (p. 18). This illustrates again the universal struggle for power that causes so much pain when not handled with insight. Darwin's father was actually a very sincere, kindly, sympathetic man, as his large practise and the affections of his patients showed, and it was not in injustice and severity that he was dominating—that attitude usually justifies an open revolt on the part of the son if the mother does not interfere—but it was in his conscientiousness and sincerity of wishing that he almost ruined his son. It is this type of affective bond that holds the object in the severest grip when it naturally needs to break away, like the lovely daughter who must sacrifice her love for children to a dependent, defective old mother and finds to her horror that she has spontaneous wishes for her mother to release her by dying.

Darwin's method of working showed how keenly he humored his inspirations and nursed his strength in his ascent as a man of intellectual attainments. His study chair was higher than the average—he had long legs—but upon the top of this he placed "foot-stools" so as to considerably elevate himself and then neutralized the additional height by resting his feet on another chair, much to the mirth of the family. The elevated seat of learning surely had a genetic influence in his work through its reënforcement of the compensatory striving which he had to assume in order to compensate for his humility, and deference, and the "fatality" of reasoning, which had become an attribute of his attitude of mind.

When his margin of endurance was too meager to work consistently on other scientific problems he could still collect facts bearing on the origin of species. "I could sometimes do this when I could do nothing else," showing which wish in his personality was

the strongest and could continue to work after the others had to yield to fatigue. He says he never stopped collecting facts on the origin of species.

Never for a moment after clearly conceiving his inspiration did he abandon the creation of it. The excitement and difficulties he experienced in controlling the affective reactions that were aroused, as the secrets of nature were revealed to him, may be estimated by the following comment: When twenty-nine, upon reading Malthus on Population, in which the struggle for existence is emphasized, "It at once struck me that under these circumstances favourable variations would tend to be preserved and unfavourable ones to be destroyed. The result of this would be the formation of new species. Here then I had at last got a theory by which to work; but I was so anxious to avoid prejudice that I determined not for some time to write even the briefest sketch of it." Four years later, he allowed himself to write, in pencil, a thirty-five-page abstract of his theory. This was enlarged two years later into 230 pages, and his completed theory was not published until some twenty-nine years after the first general formulation of his idea of evolution.

Some other peculiarities about Darwin's methods of working are important for the psychologist to recognize. He says: "Whenever a published fact, a new observation or thought, came across me, which was opposed to my general results (it was my practice) to make a memorandum of it without fail at once; for I had found by experience that such facts and thoughts were far more apt to escape from the memory than favourable ones" (p. 71). Also his keen watch for *exceptional phenomena*; and "My love of natural science (the medium for gratification of his childhood's wish) has been steady and ardent." This pure love had, however, been much aided by the ambition to be *esteemed* by fellow naturalists. (Reinforcing post-adolescent wishes produced by the influence of Grant, Henslow, Lyell, and others.) From my early youth, I have had the strongest desire to understand or explain whatever I observed;" (this originated in his mother's curiosity) "that is, to group all facts under some general laws. These causes combined have given me the patience to reflect or ponder for any number of years over any unexplained problem." (This mechanism of *freely* grouping facts under general laws permits the affective cravings full spontaneity of function and they are not then subdued or depressed by inhibiting fears of being unwise or mistaken. The capacity for

spontaneous discriminations and comparisons becomes tremendously greater than when shut in by don'ts.) "I have steadily endeavored to keep my mind free so as to give up any hypothesis, however much beloved (and I cannot resist forming one on every subject), as soon as facts are shown to be opposed to it." He says that every single first-formed hypothesis except the one on coral reefs had to be modified after a time or given up.

Darwin's magnificent courage to think persistently and honestly, and the results of his method as a mechanism of personal improvement, is a splendid example that many of our American scientists, holding influential chairs in research and education, should consider. The minds of American academic scientists seem to be subtly subdued by the fear of making a mistake or of even considering an hypothesis that possibly may have to be modified or abandoned. This is particularly true for psychiatry and psychology.

Darwin's attitude toward the objects of his inquiry, especially flowers, also reveals the affect that forced the inquiry, which was *love*. He seems to have shown no narcissistic cravings to scintillate, nor hatred, prompting him to acquire a triumph in order to have a potent tool for conflict, nor a desire to be admired or to establish priority. His love for flowers led him to treat them almost as personalities. His son says: "I used to like to hear him admire the beauty of a flower; it was a kind of gratitude to the flower itself, and a personal love for its delicate form and colour. I seem to remember him gently touching a flower he delighted in; it was the simple admiration that a child might have. He could not help personifying natural things." His theory made him their coequal. The actual experiences in his life in which flowers were so associated as to arouse such tender affections, he practically tells us, occurred in his early childhood when his lovely, gracious mother revealed her curiosity about the secret of nature which might be answered by looking "inside" of the flower.

Darwin, as a father and a creative thinker, was a most unusual exception to the rule in that he proved to be a successful father; whereas, most intensive thinkers make poor fathers. The career deprives the child of much needed attention. The Encyclopedia Britannica says four of his five sons became prominent in the scientific world. The honor of this, however, probably is due Emma Wedgwood, Mrs. Darwin, whose wonderful personality made it possible for Darwin himself to become the creator of his work.

Darwin's attitude toward his children as an educating influence

was radically different from his father's controlling methods in that he permitted his children to develop as freely as possible, thereby permitting the affective forces to exercise their fullest powers. He treated his children with "unbounded patience" and never "spoke an angry word to them in his life," but it "never" entered their heads to disobey him. This was not their fault but due to the fact that he always "respected" their "liberty" and "personality."

Conclusions.—(1) The principle characteristics of Darwin that made him one of the great constructive thinkers of all time are the loyalty with which he cherished his mother's wish (fortunately it was practical as well as ideal, which cannot be said of the wishes of most mothers). He had to struggle with influences that would divert him from his love-object at ten to seventeen in the classical schools, at seventeen in the medical school, at twenty in a theological school, at twenty-two to make the voyage of the *Beagle* and twenty-seven to thirty when he finally renounced all interest in the last remaining restraints of orthodox Christianity, becoming, as he considered himself, an "agnostic," and coequal of his objects of study.

As a school boy and a student he became depressed and disinterested when he was forced by the stupidity of academic educators to acquire in learning what his emotions had aversions for and yet he literally glowed with enthusiasm when permitted to make his own *natural selection* of friends and literature in biology and geology. His own experience demonstrated that depression of adaptive capacities followed when an environment was persistently unfavorable to the affective needs.

In this respect, the educator's crime of forcing children into prescribed courses deserves the most remorseless criticism, because it is still practised today in our public schools and universities.

(2) "He often said that no one could be a good observer unless he was an active theorizer" (p. 126), which decidedly means that since our spontaneous observations and ability to react to subliminal stimuli, that is, delicate or slight variations in the environment, depends upon the freedom with which the affective-autonomic cravings may work, no one, who must work with material that he hates, can become a good observer. This is the most common cause of the tendency to dullness of thinking in most matured males and females. Economic and moral obligations force the individual to continue with the unpleasant work.

The second attribute that contributed to his success was the ab-

solite freedom of his thinking and theorizing about "everything" (almost) and his humble willingness to abandon any theory, no matter how much beloved it might be, when exceptions disproved it. When the dominant craving that the theory satisfied is not love but hate, it seems to be much more difficult to admit error or to risk an error because it implies an admission of inferiority.

(3) His inherent perseverance, and his humility and sincerity.

(4) His patience, which was probably due to the fact that Mrs. Darwin was a perfect mother-image by birth and temperament.

(5) The assimilation of suggestions from his grandfather's theory and the influence of Grant, Henslow, Sedgwick, Lyle, and Hooker, that counteracted his father's resistance to his becoming a naturalist.

(6) The sacredness with which he regarded his objects of research and the religious manner in which he consecrated himself to the study of Nature and the welfare of humanity.

The influence that *conditioned* Charles Darwin's affective cravings so that the only thing he could satisfactorily do in life was to write theories of evolution and study the secrets of nature were (1) the peculiarly influential nature of the personality of his mother, due to her (a) love, (b) beauty, (c) sweetness, (d) fascination for her father-in-law's work, and (e) her intuitive recognition that he was not through with his task; (2) his grandfather's quest and theory; (3) the personal influence of his post-adolescence hero, Doctor Grant, to which was largely contributory the solution of Darwin's affective dilemma with his father, the confidential nature of the talk, his "silent astonishment" whereby he did not lose the tension of the affective reaction through talking it off; (4) the accidental contact with Professor Henslow's ministerial and scientific interests, in which personal combination the wish to please his mother as well as the conflicting wish to please his father, both found a medium for gratification; (5) his uncle's insight into the father-son conflict; (6) the voyage of the *Beagle*; (7) the father's sensitive half-acknowledgment of pleasure in his son's change of interest from sports to intellectual work; (8) his father's forbearance from further manifest conflict; (9) economic independence; and (10) the unreserved devotion and heroic patience of his wife. When we think of how she devoted her life to his comfort and shared every one of the miserable nights with him during the last years, the only song that Darwin was able to sing from memory has a distinct interest.

hereditary psychopathic traits that forced him to devote his entire time to what was then regarded as useless theorizing in order that he might grasp the splendid scheme of things entire.

I believe that Darwin's psychopathic traits were entirely due to the persistence with which he repressed certain autonomic functions or affective cravings.

The seriousness of his regret for having conflicted with his father may be seen in the strange quotation which Francis Darwin uses in concluding the biography of his father's life: "As for myself, I believe I have acted rightly in steadily following, and devoting my life to Science. I feel no remorse from having committed any great sin, but have often and often regretted that I have not done more direct good to my fellow creatures" (p. 530). One cannot help but think, in this connection, of the unhappy father who wanted a son to practice medicine with him.

TRANSLATION

A STUDY OF THE MENTAL LIFE OF THE CHILD

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(Continued from page 92)

PART II

INTRODUCTION

Playtime (Die Spielzeit)

The play-period, the golden happy childhood days which poets praise as such a beautiful gift granted to each person but once, goes backward for its very beginnings into infancy itself, but expands to full sovereignty in the years before the child hears the sound of the brazen-toned word, "duty," and becomes aware of its fetters for the first time when he enters the school-room. Playtime weaves its golden threads into the hours when school opens its doors, day after day, and a stream of boisterous child-life escapes from restraint to the sound of shouts of joy. But in the delightful period from the first to the sixth year, the very small child is in the world for nothing else and nothing better than to play from morning until night. Indeed he makes everything subservient to play—the requirements of the nursery, also those which family-life involves. And he carries his childish play-wishes with him even into his dreams, so that he may begin his next day's task in the same spirit when morning comes. Thinking and feeling (Denk- und Gefühls-

tätigkeit), and every expression of his will, *all* acknowledge the sceptre of play. Everything becomes a plaything to the child. All the events of home-life find their place in the scheme of play, and even the tragedy of sickness and death loses its terror to the child at play.

In his beautiful book, "Die Spiele der Menschen," K. Groos distinguishes between different forms of play, dividing them into (1) play as means of discovery by experimentation, (2) play as a mode of activity for the impulses (Triebe) of the Second Order. In the making of experiments the sensory and motor apparatus are both in action as well as the intellectual powers (faculties), the feelings and the will. Among the kinds of play in which the impulses of the Second Order come into active expression, Groos reckons games of strife, of love, imitative games, and finally games of a social character. We meet with all these variations of play (occurring) as early as in the tenderest years of infancy.

I. THE BODY AND ITS FUNCTIONS IN THE SERVICE OF PLAY

When the infant is playing, he likes most of all to make experiments upon his own body. During such auto-erotic activity (Betätigung) the body is subject and object (actor and spectator) at one and the same time. No part of the body is so far out of reach but that pleasurable sensations can be obtained from it, and even to the smallest child the aim (object) of play is pleasure. His surprise and curiosity turn into keen joy when he finds, upon feeling his own limbs, that he can make those same members obey his will and that he has in them playthings which no one can wrest from him. Even much later, and long after his body has been sharply differentiated from the environment, the child continues to find in the sensations derived from his body the source of great enjoyment. Then the auto-sadistic tendencies which show themselves even in the first year of life find rich satisfaction in the thousandfold little tortures which each child loves to inflict upon himself, perhaps laughing all the while. He does not account it as a cause of pain to wind a string around one of his fingers until it is blue and cold. He beats himself for fun; he pulls out his own hair and delights in doing so. My nephew, in his fourth year, used to squeeze one foot into an iron coal-rake (Schürhaken) and run around the room in that fashion, laughing and crying out (exclaiming): "Oh! Oh! I cannot bear it!" Also the surprise which a boy not yet six years old prepared for his mother can be interpreted hardly otherwise than as auto-

sadistic, when—by means of a string fastened to a door-latch—he pulled out every other tooth in his upper and his lower jaw. Perhaps there is not a child who would not find pleasure (and that, even into the years of adolescence) in dazzling himself by alternately staring long at a candle-flame and then closing his eyelids, or else in causing sounds to mingle in a chaos by suddenly placing his hands over his ears. Naturally, the ambition to hold out longer than his comrades plays a great rôle in all this experimenting. And who is there who would not, as child, purposely have tasted of sour, bitter things whose taste was already known to be disagreeable?—who would not have done it merely out of mischief (*Mutwille*), from a desire to show-off and to do a big thing? Under this head also belongs the voluntary eating of May-bugs, worms, etc., on the part of larger children, especially boys—of course only before admiring spectators. Children who like to put themselves on exhibition in this way are never without a strongly sadistic vein.

Since the little child has absolutely no feeling of disgust, and the disgust shown somewhat later only takes the place of pleasure in forbidden things—a pleasure which has not died out but has merely been repressed through training—he continues to find interest in the products of defecation and in the process itself just as he had done in infancy. The original interest in these matters does not become less, although as early as in the third year of life—sometimes even in the second—the child learns, as a rule, to mask that interest to a certain extent. The pleasure experienced with relation to everything connected with this process sometimes breaks forth undisguised. But if the child is obliged to forego all such expression of pleasure, he sometimes seeks a substitute gratification in enuresis nocturna. A boy of nine years, who still indulges in this habit, says that at four years of age when living with an aunt in the country, he wet his bed every day “for his own pleasure” because “lying in something warm” was so comforting, and he liked to feel the linen sheet drying underneath his body, pressed against it. He had played, moreover, that he was having fomentations applied as his mother had had them shortly before when ill of typhoid fever (*Bauchtyphus*) after a premature delivery. Evidently the heart of his game lay in this phantasy: on the one hand, he identified himself with his beloved mother; on the other hand, he had found pleasure in thinking of (her) pregnancy and early delivery. For he said he had always pressed himself against the sheet so “hard” that his abdomen was quite flattened.

The playing with one's own body and its functions takes on a broader scope as soon as a child has a chance to meet with children of his own age. Then the pleasure in exhibiting one's self and in yielding to the "peeping"-impulse (Exhibitions- und Schaulust) finds a wide field of action (activity) opened (presented) to it; and while those desires are being satisfied, the first ties of friendship are being formed. Thus, when my nephew was in his third year he is said to have related with glee that a girl (nine years old) had shut herself into the bath-room with him and had displayed herself naked. At about the same time his mother heard him inviting a little girl-friend to similar disrobing in the garden, promising—as return-act—to show himself to her. Also I know the following fact in regard to a five-year-old little girl, *i. e.*, that while she and her little brother three and a half years old, had their bath together, she reached repeatedly after his "membrum"; and that the little boy enjoyed making "Nature-studies" on his sister, too. Remembering kindred pleasures of the previous summer, the children called these performances "Seebadspielen" (ocean-bathing). The little boy, "O," who had had enemas frequently ever since his third year, amused himself by "treating" a little girl-playmate in that way; while he declined the procedure, at her hands, terming it "filthiness." Here the repression was so far advanced that he would allow no one but himself to play the active part, while his refusal of the passive rôle (Passivität) pointed likewise to unpleasant associations connected with similar treatments to which he had been obliged to submit in nursery days.

The reason why playing "Doctor" is so common and so much liked is that it is based on childhood-experiences of this same sort, and it is significant that children are apt to retire to an out-of-the-way corner for this kind of play.

In the first three years of life the activity of special senses is of immense importance for play, and the cause of this is that the sense-functions are not yet fully under control at that period, and that the gradual increase in efficiency and accuracy in the use of the organs concerned produces in the child a pleasurable sense of growing confidence in himself and pride in his own strength and dexterity. Naturally this is true in largest measure, in regard to exercise of the muscles in walking, running, climbing, and jumping. The child does not tire of making the same attempts, again and again, until finally, with the aid of loud laughter and screams of delight, he succeeds in drawing the attention of his comrades to his performance.

In doing such feats, he takes care to avoid expressions of pain unless he really receives severe injuries, particularly if he finds that an all too ready sympathy magnifies his courage and represents him as a little stoic who considers repeated falling down simply as a necessary evil and bears it as such. Climbing and going up and down stairs give the child peculiar pleasure; perhaps, in part, because the straining of the thigh and abdominal muscles excites erotic feelings. The little boy, "O," at two and a half years, climbed on the brass rods of a washstand up to the top of it; and when his mother lifted the child down, she noticed that he had an erection. We have no such detailed records before us about any other child, concerning pleasure in climbing, as we have about Shinn's niece, Ruth. The writer does not suggest the sexual significance of this kind of muscular activity, but its presence can be recognized from the abandon with which the child carries on these exercises, from her persistence in performing them, and from the strong pleasurable reaction which they excite. For we are told:¹ "All her thoughts are directed toward climbing. Her heart and soul are set on it." The pleasure attendant on climbing is partly due to the fact that it secures for the young child a chance to satisfy his curiosity by examining birds' nests, feathers, etc. As a rule, when children climb upon chairs, tables, etc., they do so for the purpose of bringing within reach things which adults have forbidden them to look at or to use; and, this being so, one may assume that even the climbing done by older children is not to be considered solely as an especially favored form of muscular exertion, but that it should count, in part, as resistance to compulsion and to prohibition in general. When little "O's" mother wished to make the honey-pot safe by putting it upon a tall cupboard supposed to be entirely out of reach of her little son, the latter declared: "No use, Mamma! I shall climb upon the low seat, from there upon the bed, and then upon the high part of the bed; and from there I can get to the honey very well," and, in truth, he was caught in the act of doing this a few days later. Shinn reports of her niece that she learned to like, in her third year, and still liked when in her seventh year, to climb stairs and to slide down them. We read: "She slides down, now on her feet, now with her body extended at full length, and goes with a jerky motion." This kind of movement suggests unconscious onanism. The same idea is indulged in later, too, in a similar way by sliding down stair-rails,

¹ Shinn, *l. c.*, 537-539, 545, 554 ("Ihr ganzes Sinnen und Denken ist auf das Klettern gerichtet"), 561, 575, 587.

climbing trees and posts, etc., because thus the character of "the shocking," "the objectionable," is taken away from onanism when it has long since meant to the child "a forbidden act." From infancy onward, the child loves rocking and swinging movements; and as a rule this fondness remains and is strengthened, since a chance for sexual excitement, without giving offence, is also presented here. Also the sexual excitement frequently finds itself intensified through the pleasure attending (unconscious) exhibitionism and the "looking habit" (Schaulust), both forms of indulgence being easily gratified by such movements. As long as rocking (or being rocked) is a passive form of pleasure, the participation in it of a purely mental (emotional) component—the demand for love and care—should not be overlooked. This also plays a rôle, to some extent at least, in the infantile impulse to throw things about, a desire which dies out as soon as it is found that no one seeks for the object thrown. Beside the pleasure in the strong action of the muscles which is thus called into play, the child derives no little enjoyment from the agreeable feeling of keeping other people busy with himself. With larger children a sadistic impulse quite often comes to expression in the act of throwing things. The more distinctly a child becomes conscious of his muscle-power, the more intensively he exercises the same. Only the delicate boy draws back instinctively from the scuffles of his playfellows; and often very early this consciousness of bodily weakness gives rise to a feeling of bitterness which finds vent in the compensatory exercise of cunning, or in self-conceit (cultivating a belief in his own mental superiority). The normally robust child, especially the boy, lets no opportunity of exercising his body go unused; and the ancient game of "Who is the stronger?" remains forever alluring to his muscle-erotism. The games where wrestling and fighting come in bear the stamp of sexuality so plainly that it is hardly to be overlooked. Although the educated layman has known, for a long while, what bad effects tickling can have upon children, yet its importance is still too little recognized. Fathers, uncles, grandfathers—that is, in general, individuals of the male sex—cannot refrain from tickling children and thereby exciting them to that forced laughter which degenerates into a compulsive scream-laughter often accompanied by compulsive starts, the analogy of which to the orgasm of hypersensitive adults during the sexual act cannot be denied. Perhaps the peculiarity which many women have of bursting into tears at the height of pleasure has been established through experiences of the tickling

sort in youth. Shinn records:² "As a general thing the tickling of our child was forbidden. Nevertheless, her grandfather tickled her several times in her second year; and this induced in her an extraordinary amount of pleasureable excitement. She threw herself over backward on her grandmother's lap and pointed to her own breast and neck, begging him to tickle her again. When he complied, she shouted and laughed for joy, emitting a tone which did not sound like a reflex movement but like a natural expression of pleasure." This remark in regard to little Ruth's reaction to tickling seems to me worthy of notice for this reason, because in her case the movement—atavistic in the woman—of throwing herself backward upon being excited sexually was especially conspicuous. When boys are tickled, one observes rather a throwing-about of the limbs, a doubling of the body, and a springing up with a jerk—in other words, an increased activity which stands out in contrast to the girl's passivity, both forms of reaction serving to foreshadow the behavior of man and woman respectively in the emotional relationships of their adult life.

With many children the strong development of skin-erotism is manifested in certain bad habits, such as continual scratching of the head, or of the palm of the hand until local inflammation is induced; or again in moving the clothes from side to side on the body—a habit which, in fact, is frequently only a disguised form of onanism. Freud surmises that some time before the third year of life—and as a result of still unexplained instincts of that period—the infantile form of onanism dies down, and that then a latency period comes on which soon gives way in its turn to a flood tide of sexual feeling which falls between the third and fourth years. At that time sex-interests occupy the centre of the infant's feelings and acts, as the result of which he takes up masturbation again. Much has been written about the physical and the mental harm which come from this infantile self-gratification. But it is easy to go too far in such generalizations. One naturally tries to correct a too early activity of the sex(ual) impulses as much as one can, but this is a task which calls for the greatest possible caution. For we know from the analysis of neurotic invalids that the so-called "castration-complex"—that is, a group of feelings and emotion which arise in the infant and become firmly fixed as a result of the threat (outspoken or implied) to cut off the "membrum," or the (substitute) finger, on account of onanism—has such a lasting effect that with many

² Shinn, *l. c.*, 235.

persons it cannot be eliminated, thereafter, from the mental life, and is likely, instead, to become the source of psychic impotence and of other nervous anxiety-states (*Angstzustände*).³ If we could only teach ourselves to recognize the phenomena of the sexual life not as a forbidden something which should be kept secret from the child, we should be able to tread these paths in more reasonable fashion. Gentle admonition which defines those manipulations as "not nice," but not as harmful, helps the child more than terrifying threats. The motive of love for its mother induces many a child to desist from this form of gratification. My nephew, at the age of four years, after he had been warned repeatedly in regard to this practice, said touchingly, to his mother, one evening: "Mother dear, all day long I have not taken my little tip in my hand, except of course when I have made Wischi (urinated), but then you were with me." Thus when the impulse is not too strong and the onanistic act has not become a habit, love and the stimulus to ambition are able to accomplish more than severity, the purpose of which is not understood and which, for that reason, is doomed to failure. In the diary-like records relating to the development of individual children, unfortunately not even the slightest suggestion is to be found on this important point; and those writers who occupy themselves with this question record nothing but isolated data regarding it, or make remarks not connected with the rest of the chronicle of the child's development. This separating of the sexual components from the whole picture of a childhood history is to blame, in large part too, for the fact that infantile masturbation is so persistently overlooked, or else denied. One sees only the shadow side of the life under observation, without recognizing that these children, as well as others, have lovable traits of character also; and, furthermore, that these children form the majority of young people. Indeed, we look at the dark side without considering that strongly marked sexual manifestations are simply the necessary reverse side of an early developed intellect. When one hears a child called "precocious," one may be sure that before long erotic and sexual characteristics of one or another sort will become manifest. For it is a law of nature that in proportion as the interest of the child becomes awakened, it will be instinctively directed, from inclination, toward that emotional realm that has so much to offer him in the way of pleasurable excitement.

³ This complex speaks out, too, in the fear of many children of having their hair cut. (Author.)

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNDERSTANDING (DIE VERSTANDESENTWICKLUNG)

An early development of the understanding is conditioned upon mentally taking in and digesting the various experiences of daily life; indeed, the existence (evidence) of such development implies that the child has done that very thing. Those about him often believe that the occurrences in question have remained unnoticed by the child; or else people think that "he does not understand." It is certainly true of children, even though not true of adults, that the development of the rational powers proceeds, not at the expense of the emotional life, but almost always "hand in hand" with it. This is much more strikingly true in the case of "only" children than with children who have the opportunity of maturing in the midst of a group of brothers and sisters, and are therefore not removed from contact with the sphere of thought most characteristic of childhood, so often or for so long a period of time as is the "only" child. The highly pleasing "sayings" of children, the spontaneous utterances which give an inkling of the freedom and originality of the childish mind, reflect the closeness of the connection that obtains between the growing child and his environment. Curiosity and attention are the most effective of all the forces which call the rational thought-processes into being. In our characterization of the period of infancy, we have already illustrated how the child reacts to everything which seems to him worth investigation; and what was there said holds good, even more definitely, for the years that follow. Now the question arises: "With what actual experiences do the first ideas, judgments, conclusions tend to deal?" Without exaggeration we can say: With the processes of nourishment and of digestion. The latter process, in particular, just because so much stress is laid on it in his home training, becomes of such engrossing interest to the child as to occupy the central place in his unconscious thoughts and in his games, and this would be so even if there were no constitutional, inherent tendencies at work in favor of this outcome. So strongly does anal- and urethral erotism become rooted among the instinctive cravings of the infant, that it is not to be cast out in later years except at the cost of genuine renunciation. In both the earlier and the later periods, the holding back of the bowel-movement constitutes a pleasure-accented act; and frequently the immediate need of little children to urinate is to be recognized through noting the cramp-like attitudes that they assume as they go about on tip-toe, and is also to be read from the tense facial expres-

sion which reveals a combination of pleasurable excitement and anxious curiosity—all meaning “How much longer can I hold out?” My nephew, when he was from four to five years of age, did a similar thing. Before paying attention to his need he would hop about on one leg as if possessed, and he met every appeal with the invariable reply: “I must not! I must not!” When these bodily needs, even though urgent, are apparently forgotten during play, the “forgetting” arises from motives of a quite similar sort—as does enuresis nocturna also. The child wishes to enjoy the agreeable feeling of tension in the urethral or in the anal zone as long as he possibly can; and, indeed, with boys the urethral irritation is well known to cause actual erections. The great importance which the child attaches to the excretory act—doing so partly in imitation of his elders—comes to expression in the demand to have his mother present¹ (*die Mutter möge dabei sein*); and the same tendency is shown in the oft-observed habit which children have of disturbing the meal-hours by calling attention to their personal needs. Children do this even in their fourth year—indeed, even as late as in their sixth year and the deeper meaning of the act, i. e., to claim mother’s care exclusively, *during meal times as well*, is usually overlooked by adults. The father wishes to see this desire treated as a piece of naughtiness; the mother excuses it as a habit linked to the hour. Indeed, with children whose appetite is deficient, a virtue is sometimes made of necessity, in the hope that after the “evacuation” has taken place the meal will prove to be more of a success.

Anal and urethral erotism not only offer the child ample opportunity for playful activity, based on their immediate gratification, but turn his games into definite paths with special outcomes. Urinating through cracks of garden fences, to the greatest possible height on a tree, or in such a way that the stream will rise into the air in serpentine lines, or, again, intentionally letting it run over the edge of the “night-vessel” and listening to the sound it makes—all these are never failing modes of diversion among young boys. As soon as the first strong repression has taken place, then the child’s great liking for water, mud, and sand comes to light. To make a mud-pie not too watery and not too hard, just like a “Drücki”—as my nephew expressed himself—always remains a favorite form of play to the child, all the more so since this gives him a good chance to soil hands, face, and clothes; in that fact lies the chief charm of

¹ Or perhaps the unwillingness to have her present. (Trans.)

the play. Little Scupin² used to defend himself against his mother's reproaches relative to this, and against her plea that his cousin, Lotte, looks clean even while at play, with the reply: "Then she isn't playing right. When one plays right, one makes oneself dirty too." The listening—accompanied by smiles and laughter—to the running off of water, for example of the bath water;³ the playful collecting of saliva and squirting it; all indicates, with the three-year-old child, a shifting of interest from the "forbidden" to the "harmless" zone even thus early. But beside this, as is natural, reversions to the original form of excitement often occur. In his fifth year, my nephew and a company of smaller and of larger lads, were caught in filling, with a liquid of their own providing, a hollow in the ground dug out for that purpose. With red cheeks and with eyes beaming with delight, little Max came running up to his mother, and said: "Look, Mutti! We must fill our pond up full; it is half full now." And, another time, when he was between three and four years old, and was playing by himself with his railroad-train, suddenly he took several pieces of paper and put them in the last coach with the remark: "There! That is for the conductor when he has to make 'Drücki.'" This is a variation of the thought of all children: "What do the engineer and the conductor do when they need to relieve themselves?"—a question which, upon the child's first visit to the theater, is extended to include actors⁴—and a question which, in its repression, forms perhaps one of the reasons for the urgent "call of Nature" at the wrong time.⁵ Certainly the anxiety of many adults, when making a journey, to find a place in a coupé as near as possible to the toilet-room, is likewise to be traced to the same source as is the irresistible compulsive laughter (Lachzwang) of many people when an entire company listens intently to an unexpected noise.

Not only do the functions of digestion serve the child for the purposes of play, but his budding understanding knows how to put them to use, a little later, in the service of his feeling and emotion. In *Diary III*, No. 4953, under the date of Dec. 24, 1851 (published

² Scupin, *l. c.*, II, p. 215.

³ Shinn, *l. c.*, 225; Stern, *l. c.*, 325.

⁴ O. Ernst, *Asmus Sempers Jugendland*, XI. Kap. When five-year-old Asmus is taken to the theater for the first time by his brothers, he inquires—among many other things—whether one can "go out" while there, if one "has to go"?

⁵ A very common symptom among nervous patients, as also among clergymen going to the pulpit, and soldiers going into battle. (Trans.)

by R. M. Werner, II edition), Hebbel records, in regard to his daughter Titi, at that time three years old: "If the maid-servants will not conduct themselves as she wishes, she threatens to wet herself." The child, in short, punishes a lack of affectionate attention (Liebe) to him and his desires, with whatever means he has at his command and in the way which seems to him likely to be as unpleasant as possible to those whom he wishes to rebuke.

The open manifestations of anal and urethral erotism become repressed and checked, as time goes on, in proportion as the effect of training makes itself felt; and in its place there appears gradually the sense of "modesty." This repression of desires which in themselves are pleasurable often brings it about that a feeling of disgust arises which is not directed solely against the processes immediately in question and against the products of the bowel-evacuation, but is very frequently transferred to the very taking in of nourishment, and expresses itself especially in the refusal to partake of certain dishes which from their color remind one of the "defecation-products." One day, at noon, when roast hare was served, in brown gravy, my nephew, then about four years old, called out: "What have you got there? I'm not going to eat that. That looks like Drücki." And upon eating chocolate he said: "Pfui! Now my fingers look full of Drücki!" (evidently having in mind the coprophilic practices of his first year). Such mental associations as this undoubtedly take place with most children, though they are not allowed to clothe them in words. In close association with the progressive repression of this interest in the defecation-process, it frequently happens, even in infancy, that ceremonial observances of one or another sort are brought into play, as invariable accompaniments of the excretory act—ceremonials which retain their importance even into the period of puberty. In closest connection with anal and urethral erotism stands the pleasure which children have in exhibiting themselves and in "peeping" (die Exhibitions- und Schaulust der Kinder) which propensities, of course, also indicate the infantile trains of thought. The former inclination (exhibitionism) seems to be inborn, a native instinct, since it is already in evidence at a period when the eye is of but little importance as an erogenous zone, the power of perception being still but slight. One has, therefore, the right to assume that pleasure in exhibitionism ("exposure") comes originally from the agreeable skin sensations accompanying changes of temperature. It is, however, by no means without a sexual accent—a fact which becomes evident when one

takes note of the parts of the body chosen for exposure. It is the genitals that are thus selected during the first three or four years; and it is not until educational factors have come in, that the child seeks to conform, in this respect, to the demands of custom. Next in order of preference to the organs of generation come the nates, which the child finds it pleasant to have exposed, both when he is awake and when he is asleep. Children continue also, to make use, in fun or in anger, of certain gestures which are to be thought of as repressed exhibitionism. With his fine gift (power) of observation, Bogumil Goltz⁶ recognized this tendency, and devotes the following passage to its description: "When the diminutive piece of manhood clad in child's frock, wishes to make himself especially annoying to the grown-ups, he often threatens to make himself naked, and he likes best to voice his threat in the words, 'Ich heb' mich gleich Bauchchen'; and to this may be added another barbarism, 'I shall dash myself on the ground, this minute.' But one does not let one's self be bullied; and so, straightway, the little rebel rolls on the floor 'in puris naturalibus'—a sort of sansculottism in child's clothes. At the worst, this amount of rebellion leads to a little tickling with a switch, and costs only those charming childhood tears which the spectator does not know whether to take as laughing or crying; for, indeed, the small creator of them does not really know himself." One might look upon the sudden changes of rage into laughter, occurring under such circumstances as these, as examples of psychic discharge taking place just in consequence of the unhindered carrying out of exhibitionistic desires. This way of looking at the matter finds itself endorsed by the habit which obtains among sensible parents, of simply letting the child rage himself out. The pleasure in exposing one's own body is an expression of "narcissism." Originally it is practiced by children of both sexes to the same degree; but with the boy narcissism soon enters paths along which it moves veiled in many a disguise. And it is just here that the profound difference which exists between the sexes makes itself apparent. In his second and third years, however, the little boy pays himself the tribute of as honest admiration as the little girl does herself. Thus when for lack of other covering, a little woolen jacket belonging to his aunt was put around my nephew, then in his fifteenth month, he looked at himself in the mirror with a satisfied smile and could not have enough of stroking himself and exclaiming "Ei! Ei!" in praise of his appearance. Although he was still unable to understand

⁶ B. Goltz, *Buch der Kindheit*, p. 250.

speech, yet his aunt's good-natured raillery, "Look! He is quite in love with himself," must have made an impression on him; for the next day when his mother returned after a day's absence, he could not be induced to put on the little jacket again. Unfortunately, especially with girls, narcissism finds abundant food in the fashion-follies which vain mothers cannot deny themselves the pleasure of following; and they do that without stopping to consider of how much naturalness, of how great freedom of movement, they deprive their children. This form of display does not succeed with the boy as a rule; he would far rather run around day after day, in the same little torn or patched smock-frock than to suffer a curtailment of his freedom of activity. The inherited aggressiveness, which is stronger with the boy, leads him to indulge his exhibitionistic desires more publicly than the girl does hers. In addition, training (pedagogy, die Erziehungskunst) contributes much to impress the feeling of modesty upon the girl earlier and more strongly than upon the boy. In spite of that, however, the excretory acts retain their power, even with girls, to furnish a desired excuse for "seeing" and "being seen." Love for animals proceeds in part from the great delight with which the child watches these processes in them. The chance to make close observations is indeed much more easily managed under such conditions than it is with playmates or in the case of adults—although it is precisely with them that the child misses no opportunity of "peeping," in the hope of seeing something that might give the explanation of many an obscure problem. In the same way, in order to gratify their ears, at least, if not their eyes, children like to lurk round toilet-room doors. Indeed, many children make a direct demand to be taken in there with the mother, and it is especially true of boys; the attraction of the opposite sex is conspicuous in this. As a general thing this desire comes from memory-traces of times when the mother, thinking the child asleep, or else that he is noticing nothing, has put less reserve than usual upon herself in satisfying her needs. Or, again, the child's request arises from remembering journeys during which the mother was afraid to let her two- or three-years old child wait at the door of the toilet-room in frequented railroad-stations. I leave out altogether those isolated cases in which the unfreed residues of her own anal-erotism are the unconscious motives of the mother's fear. When the first thoughts and words are formed (Gedanken- und Wortbildung) it is natural for them to be connected with an emotional sphere so erotically marked. Anal-erotism is of supreme importance in the forma-

tion of character—as Freud has shown in his work; and I will not end my remarks on the subject of anal-erotism without at least indicating in what relation it stands to the question which is of greatest importance to the child, the question “How do children come into existence?” If I reserve the detailed consideration of this until later, yet I should like to mention here that in the course of the child’s search for a satisfactory solution of this enigma, there always comes a period in his development when he takes the excretory act as giving the longed-for explanation of the mystery—hence the “Lumpftheorie” of Hänschen,⁷ and little Anna’s opinion of the matter.⁸ Each child is satisfied with this self-found theory so long as he thinks of the mother as sole creator of (the) children. It seems entirely natural to him that a foreign body should be cast out of the mother’s body by way of defecation, or else of vomiting (*i. e.*, either through the intestinal tract or else through the esophagus).

Pleasure in exhibitionism and in “peeping,” leads the infantile mind to occupy itself deeply with the engrossing problem of nakedness. The child’s interest in it is expressed in countless questions. As long as he is not prevented from speaking frankly about the matters, whatever they may be, with which his reasoning-power is engaged, he never grows weary of talking about those parts of the body which are the source of his most pleasurable feelings and making them the central point of conversation. The fondness for dolls which is so characteristic, in the earliest years, of boys and girls alike, springs from the demand (desire) to see the human body, or at least an image of it, entirely without clothing. And because little bath-dolls meet this wish the nearest, they enjoy a special popularity with all children. This lively interest soon causes the child to seek means of distinguishing between the sexes, and this is particularly the case with children who grow up among brothers and sisters. The boy thinks of the genitals of the girl as something unfinished, something incomplete, something to which time must be counted on to give the proper growth. The root of the pride of the male in his sex lies in this conception. The boy, as a rule, considers the girl as his inferior, because she lacks that member from which he derives so much pleasure. Soon comes the time when his affection goes out with special strength to the mother; and similarly he acts as guardian to the little girls even when they are above him in

⁷ Analyse d. Phobie eines fünfjährigen Knaben. Jahrbuch f. psycho-an. u. psycho-pathol. Forschung., I.

⁸ Jung, Konflikte d. kindlichen Seele. Jahrb. f. psycho-an. u. psycho-pathol. Forschung., II.

years and in size. Thus, my nephew, when four or five years old, would summon ten-year-old girls to join him in play, by calling out to them: "Here little girl! Will you play with me?"—and upon being instructed that the child was already a big girl, much older than himself, he would add naïvely: "Well, yes, older; but for all that she is only a girl." Little Scupin, too, in his fourth year, found his sex an advantage.⁹ The diary tells us that "Bubi is very proud every time his father takes him by the hand and goes out for a walk with him upon the 'Steinmauer' or along the 'Waldweg.' And because on one occasion his father spoke of himself and Bubi as 'we men,' Bubi's pride and feeling of superiority now know no bounds. He puts on a serious and exceedingly dignified bearing, tries to keep exact step with his father, and is very much concerned that no feminine individual should join them. 'But mamma must not follow us, nor grandma either!'" Premature awakening of the sense of modesty marks those cases where boys wish to do without the "member," under the pretext of its being inconvenient and superfluous. It speaks for itself that in the latter assertion there lies an unuttered question as to the true purpose (use) of the "member." Sometimes the wish to look like a girl, *i. e.*, to be like the mother in all respects, is at the foundation of this eagerness to be thus altered.

As one might expect, interest in the genitals begins earlier with the boy than with the girl. If the latter has no brothers and no boy playmates, it even happens in some instances that until puberty arrives she remains in uncertainty as to the difference between the sexes (*über den Geschlechtscharakter*). Her mind is not clear on this matter because observations accidentally made on the street lead to confusion in her thoughts; and the same is true of pictures. Figures wearing the loin-cloth (especially in pictures of the saints), the fig-leaf on pieces of sculpture, etc., contribute, it is true, to keep the imagination busy, but do not help at all to a calm and clear conception (*Auffassung*). This concealment of the naked truth awakens in the intelligent child the impulse to investigate the interior (inside) of things. He becomes soon carried away by the wish to obtain an explanation for the processes going on within his own body, and above all else to have revealed to him the secrets of the process of digestion. This wish shows itself undisguised in questions such as children from three to six years of age like to ask, for example: "Has everybody a Popo (buttocks)?" "Father and mother, too?" "What would happen if I had no Popo?" "Must

⁹ Scupin, *l. c.*, II, p. 28.

a person die whose Popo is grown together?" etc. Why it is that both sorts of excretions from the body do not have exit through a common orifice, in the same way that solid and liquid nourishment are taken into the body through one and the same alimentary tube; what the intestines look like "inside," and similar thoughts—these are the primitive questions which soon experience a shifting in form to more "harmless" topics, when the child has been reprimanded and made to realize that his constant occupation with such interests is objectionable. "Why do I have hair, nails, skin?" "Why does one wash oneself every day?" "Why have I only one nose but two eyes?" "What if a man had four feet!" "How would it be then?" "Why do not people have tails?" etc. The innocent question: "Why is the blood red?" always covers a desire to introduce regularly the favorite but repressed theme which is often finally brought to a point in the form of inquiries with regard to the color of the bowel-movements (Exkrete).¹⁰ The inclination, quite common among older children and adults, to reject certain shades of yellow and brown as "disgusting," goes back to the preference for them in earliest childhood.

The first perception of his own erections is of the utmost significance to the boy. Unless, indeed, they remain unnoticed in the very first years of life, it is hardly possible that the feeling of tension connected with the erections should escape the notice of the intelligent child; he cannot remain unaware of it. But unfortunately, nothing is said by any author with regard to this point. My nephew, it appears, first became conscious of an erection some time in the course of his sixth year. At least, it was during that period that he first asked the following question: "Mutti, why is my Zipferl (little tip=membrum) sometimes very small and thin, and then so large and stiff, standing up so straight that there is no room for it in my trousers?" Ans.—"You know it is that way with the mouth. It is almost always small, but when one laughs or yawns it gets wider and longer without our knowing exactly how." "Yes, and when eating, too; and my Zipferl does the same when I have to make Wischi (urine); that is why my Zipferl is so thick in the morning when I wake up."

From observing one's own body it is only a step to compare it with the bodies of other persons. Looking over and "sizing up" representatives of his own sex introduce the child to the ideas (zu

¹⁰ This is the more exciting problem because strongly and habitually excluded from ordinary conversation and related to various other forbidden topics. (Trans.)

d. Begriffen) of "large" and "small"; while observations made on the other sex lead to knowledge of differences between the sexes. Shortly before his sixth birthday, in a conversation about "young and old," "large and small," of his own accord my nephew put the following questions: "How large is the Zipferl of a big man?" Ans.—"I don't know." "So large (indicating 30 cm.)?" Ans.—"No." "Or so long (showing the length of his middle finger)?" "Why does it grow so large with a man?—and how is there room for it then in his trousers?" Ans.—"All parts of the body grow—the nose, the arms, the legs—and so that member must become large." "Of course. It would be funny (ridiculous)—such a tiny Zipferl for such a big man! And then it has to be so large because a man makes so much Wischi (urine)." After some minutes' play with his building-blocks, he continued: "Yes, yes—so long (pointing to the longest building-block). I have seen it on men in the street, on coachmen. But once, on one of them, it was all red, all bloody; and I was afraid." This last remark makes one infer that the child may have entertained fear of mutilation of his own "membrum," although the house-maids and the *bonne* had been expressly charged not to use such threats.¹¹

For children of three or four years old, or less, the difference between the sexes is solely an affair of clothing. How much nearer his father the little boy feels who has outgrown the sexless kilt and has received his first pair of trousers. And what an unbearable picture of disgrace is called up when the threat is made that he will have to put on the little dress again if he does not show himself worthy of trousers! Here, too, a logical explanation by my nephew may well find place, when, thinking of the dissimilarity between man and woman as something entirely appropriate, he said: "Mutti, I know you have hair here (pointing to her lap); all women have it, because they have no Zipferl. And the men (I know that from seeing Herrn Direktor K— when I went bathing in the Danube) have long black hair on the chest, of course because they have no such 'Hügel' there as women have." In this fashion the sex-problem, with its attendant mysteries, occupies the child's mind unceasingly; and with a little less exhibition of prudery on the part of adults, who are over-quick to take offence at such frank, artless expressions of childish speculation, a chance would be afforded for still deeper disclosures (revelations) about matters which are of vast importance for education (*Erziehung*). These observations

¹¹ A threat not uncommon among thoughtless and ignorant persons.

which the child makes are not without their poetic side. Thus, a little boy of five years, after watching his little two-year-old sister in the bath, called her protruding navel "a rose-bud" (Knospe von einer Rose), while he said his own navel looked like "a little fritter." Little Scupin calls his prosaically, "little belly-bobbin" (Bauchknöppel). The female breasts are of greatest interest to the child; and this is partly due to the memory of their rôle as first source of pleasure. Such interest appears especially in children who have been nursed beyond the normal time. Even toward the end of his second year a certain little boy begged his mother every day at noon for "a bit of bosom" (um ein Stücki Bu); and the same boy was in the habit, even in his seventh year, of openly making known his dislike of over-slender women, through the disparaging criticism: "Pfui! that woman has no Bu (bosom)!" It seems to the child, and particularly to the girl, that the chief difference in the sexes lies in the development of the breasts; and the many means which growing girls use to beautify their persons have their deepest root in unfulfilled child-wishes. Similar aids to beauty are often made use of with dolls, as their little girl owners soon discover. And this makes clear the naïve remark of a small five-year-old, whose female relatives were all of them very thin, but who (the child) had had the chance to observe a family friend with large breasts: "When I am grown up, I shall stick as much cotton (padding) inside my dress as Fräulein L— does in hers."

From such expressions as the above, the sexual¹² character of the child's longing "to be big" speaks out clearly. The following passage in regard to that longing is to be found in Bog. Goltz: "What all children, equally and without distinction, cannot wait for with patience is to be 'grown up' (Grossgewachsensein). The persistent question of all places and times is the one known to us all through personal experience: 'When shall I be big?—very big?—as big as father and mother? When shall I be a father? When can I marry? When can I go out alone, eat alone, put on trousers, go to school, not go to school any more, and do everything I like?' "¹³ In these prospectings into the future, the thoughts of "marrying" and of becoming a "father" (or a "mother") come into the foreground again and again. In true child fashion, the future "milieu" is to be exactly like that of the present. E. and G. Scupin report as

¹² In the opinion of the translators, the desire for power is of quite equal importance with the other desire, here defined.

¹³ Bogumil Goltz, *Buch der Kindheit*, p. 249.

follows with reference to the fourth year of their boy's life:¹⁴ "He has now entered that phase in which the story constantly runs thus: 'When I am big and tall, then—will—be.' To-day, for example, we heard him talking to himself in this way: 'But when I am very big and tall, then I shall be as big as the sun. Yes, yes, and when I am as big as the sun, then my head must bend, or the ceiling will hit me.'" In the morning—so we are told—he was fond of getting into bed beside his mother "so that his feet were against the foot-board," and then imagining himself taller than his mother whose feet did not touch it. The longing to be taller than mother is common to all boys and expresses the unconscious wish for sexual mastery (*Überlegenheit*). The correctness of the sexual interpretation is shown clearly in the note (p. 74) with regard to the tenth month of the fourth year: "Shall I be a papa when I am grown up? Can I drink coffee when I have become a papa? What will Lotte say when I am a big father (Lotte is his cousin about six months older)?" Ans.—'Lotte will then be a "big" mamma.' 'But what do papas and mammas do all the time, I wonder?'" Once, a month later, impatiently and imperatively he "desired" to be a papa. Upon being assured that he would certainly be one some day, he asked naïvely, "But does that come so slowly (*Aber wächst das so langsam*)?" Perhaps the naïveté lies only in the pronunciation of the words and not in the flow (direction) of his thoughts.

It is true in the life of every child that sleeping in a large bed signifies a mighty approach to the desired goal of being "grown up." At the beginning of his fifth year, little "O" shed bitter tears because he was expected to be satisfied with a child's small bed during a stay in the country. He rebelled against this humiliation even while he was dreaming. "No, no! there is no place for me (lit., I have no place)." Scupin's diary (p. 85) also relates: "It was a great event in Bubi's life when he had a large bed such as adults use, and slept there instead of in his hitherto occupied crib. At night, of his own accord, he asked to be taken to bed (a request hardly ever made before that), and in the morning he was unwilling to get up, because he wished to enjoy the big bed longer. In a contemptuous tone he called his small bed, 'the baby bed,' and he assured us that he would not 'be a baby' any more now in his big bed, and that he would hold fast to the corner of the bed-spread."

This longing to be "grown up," to be "big" (*gross zu sein*), that lies at the heart of all children's games, shows itself most

¹⁴ Scupin, Bubi vom vierten bis sechsten Lebensjahre, pp. 36, 74, 83, 94.

clearly in the directly imitative plays, such as reading the newspaper, writing letters, smoking, wearing glasses, etc.

Little girls, when they make use, in their games, of their newly acquired knowledge concerning the structure and the functions of the human body, are apt to do so secretly, when by themselves. The little boy, on the contrary, can hardly wait for the chance to communicate his new-found information to some grown man. The boy is not content with what his mates tell him; the instruction they give him does not satisfy him; he prefers to cross-question adults in order to gain still further knowledge. There is need here of great wisdom on the teacher's part. For the child should neither be denied the opportunity of interesting himself in matters which to him seem harmless, nor led to brood over problems which are made over-exciting through remarks and questions of a lustful nature—a danger which becomes greater the more the child is left with servants. To the person who knows how to take the right way in discussing such subjects, the difficult question of "sexual enlightenment" loses the greater portion of its terror. In fact, the difficulty drops away and vanishes—at least, in regard to those points with reference to which the child has not previously been misled. The child's understanding becomes broadened through an intelligent explanation, fact by fact, and the decision, contemplated with such dread, "How and when shall I tell my child what he ought to know?" loses all its painfulness.

III. MEMORY (DIE ERINNERUNG)

One of the most important functions of the human mind (*Geistes*) is memory. It implies the ability to form associations and presupposes a certain mobility of the mental elements; and by virtue of this—as spontaneous (*freisteigend*) and voluntary recollection—it provides the indispensable prerequisite for learning anything. The fore-stage of the process of remembering, namely, the act of recognition, is not a pure association-process. Even in the case of very young children it acquires, almost at once, an emotional character which is manifested under the form of surprise, or desire, or repulsion. During the period of life that precedes speech, this "feeling-tone"—connected as it is with "choice" or "will-reaction" (*Willensreaktion*)—expresses itself in gestures; but with advancing development not only does the child employ speech, the most expressive means, to show pleasure or displeasure upon recognizing a person or thing, but he reproduces, in unconscious thought,

the situations in which these objects once had an affective significance for him. In brief, only those experiences can be remembered to which a strong "feeling-tone" of pleasure or of displeasure was originally attached, even though—as the result of definite but unconscious motives—this note of pleasure may have been (may become) entirely repressed later. There come into existence in that way those memory-fragments (*Stück-Erinnerungen*) which seem incomprehensible even to the individual concerned, because their most important component is absent from consciousness; he is unaware of the objectionable element for the sake of which they have been retained in memory.

It is often taken for granted that the earliest memories of the adult do not reach back farther than his fourth year; that in some way they are related to speech-development. But when one considers that, as a rule, children two or three years old remember clearly events occurring in their second, yes, even in their first year, then one must admit that some further explanation must be sought for the fact that the memory of adults fails them for the period of life before the third or fourth year. This explanation is to be found in intentional repression—as is shown from the psycho-analysis of neurotics and from the study of dreams. The apparently senseless stuff with which dreams deceive us, and the mental material which the psycho-analyst wrings from the patient with infinite pains—all this is rooted, in the form of subconscious memory-traces, in the experiences of earliest infancy. From the therapeutic and the pedagogical standpoint, as well as from the psychological standpoint, it would be no "unprofitable experiment"—as Preyer calls it¹—to seek to carry over, well into the more advanced years of childhood, the memory-contents of the second and third years. Those memory-pictures would lead to the explanation of many so-called childhood faults, and to the understanding of many peculiarities noticed in adults.

The memories which reach back the farthest are especially apt to tell of experiences which have sexual or erotic contents; and in consequence of the persistent, arbitrary and artificial (*künstlich*) repression of his strong instinct-life (*Tribleben*), such memories are soon recognized by the child as objectionable subjects of conversation and are banished to the subconscious region of the mind. In his work entitled "The Mental Development of the Child," Compayré assumes that it is in the greater or less precocity of the child

¹ Preyer, *Die Seele des Kindes*, p. 233.

that the reason is to be sought for the differences which obtain as to the point of time to which the first memories go back. But since the term "precocity" is nothing else than a euphemistic term for a lively sex-interest, this opinion places us at once on the fertile soil of the Freudian teaching. Not only is it likely that the child's close attention will be directed to whatever excites his sex-interest, but the matters so observed are sure to be revived upon occasions which seem to the adult to have no logical connection therewith, and to furnish no reason for such revival. There is no element of the "accidental" either in the operations of memory or in any other psychic occurrence; but it often happens that the connecting threads of thought are positively concealed from us, or else that we do not choose to see them.

The fidelity of memory for the reproduction of what has been experienced depends upon the strength of the emotional emphasis (*Gefühlsbetontheit*) by which the experience is marked. The source from which this emphasis is derived may be some circumstance that might seem of secondary significance, and it is in obedience to this principle that those instances are seen where past and present events are linked together in our thoughts, in ways that appear absurd or mysterious to us so long as we do not recognize "the subconscious," or do not give it the place which belongs to it in the mental life. This is illustrated by the case of a lady of thirty-nine, who, just before a gynecological examination, which was undertaken for the purpose of a curetting, suddenly remembered an expression of severe displeasure which she had drawn upon herself from her father in her sixth or seventh year, because in spite of her being repeatedly forbidden to do so, she had opened the buds of a fuchsia-stalk before their unfolding. To the person who does not know about the sexual significance of flowers in the life of the child, such seemingly unmotivated memories apparently arise without reason.

The memories connected with erotic experiences are frequently the ones which are the most pleasurable and the most tenacious, even with the adult; and when age or illness prevents actual sexual indulgence, such memories often take the place of it—and yet, in spite of this, there is a strong disinclination to admit that the *child's* ability to remember is something that depends upon his sexual and erotic feelings. W. and C. Stern² furnish us with the following

² W. u. C. Stern, *Erinnerung, Aussage, und Lüge in der ersten Kindheit*, p. 62.

"memory" which their little son, Günter, gave at the age of three years and two months (August, 1905): "Once, in Swinemünde, when his mother was ill in bed, and the family was eating dinner in her bed-room, he said: 'You were sick once, in the old house; and we ate dinner in your bed-room, too.' Mother: 'Do you know where you sat?' Günter: 'That's all I know.'" To this Stern merely makes the remark that the event lay three quarters of a year behind them—hence that the "latency-period" (the interval until the "memory" came) amounted to nine months. But he does not mention that when the family dined the first time in the sick mother's bed-room, a little sister had been born not long before (Dec. 29, 1904), and that therefore the memory was linked with a highly exciting (affektvoll) circumstance. The same author³ gives still another illustration which has reference to the fourth month of Günter's third year: "After a month had passed since a certain incident took place, the picture of a double-looped snake set free the memory—'Bille (Brille, spectacles)—Ella.'" Stern throws the following light on those words: "In Schreiberhau the boy's mother had made spectacles out of pasteboard, and had put them on the children for the game of 'Doctor.' And once a little playmate, named Ella, brought as her contribution to the game, a similar pair of spectacles with her. The double loop of the snake served to remind the boy of the spectacles; and they, in their turn, recalled his playing with Ella." When Günter was two years and six months old, at sight of a small picture for children, this Ella appeared (came to mind) again. The pronounced sexual note of the favorite game of "Doctor," together with the erotic tinge (Erotik) of early friendships between children, explain adequately the entrance of the memory-picture into consciousness. The influence of unconscious sexual thought-associations showed itself very plainly, also, in the memory-life (Gedächtnisleben) of Stern's oldest child, little Hilda.⁴ The sight of an uncle who was present on one occasion while she was having a tub-bath reminded her of when "Onkel F— bathed with a suit on." It was pointed out in the earlier part of this book, what an important rôle the problem of nakedness (insufficient clothing) plays in relation to the child's mental life (Geist); and now we find that view strengthened by a new set of facts. Here are, for example, two boys, respectively seven and eight years old, who remember vividly a sojourn in the country, of some four years ago;

³ W. u. C. Stern, *l. c.*, p. 56.

⁴ W. u. C. Stern, *l. c.*, p. 57.

and they lay special emphasis upon the fact that they slept in one bed, and tell how they played with each other under the bed-clothes, before going to sleep at night. With boys, as is well known, railway-journeys are frequently the cause of the first sensually toned feelings. For days afterward, the journeys form a fruitful subject of conversation for the children, and that not merely because of the numerous new impressions made on their minds by the brisk traffic, etc. As a matter of fact, the first railroad-journey is remembered by many children all their lives, and in particular, the fear experienced at every shrill whistle of the locomotive—fear which not seldom implies feelings of a sexual nature. The five-year-old boy, "O," admitted to his mother that the reason why he liked to ride on a train of cars so very much was because he always needed so greatly to relieve his bodily needs at such times, yet could not go to the toilet-room—"and that was such fun."

Spontaneous flashes of fanciful thought—the well-spring of wit—are of common occurrence in childhood, indeed are rather characteristic of that period; and all the delightful sayings which one cannot designate better than by calling them "child-talk" (*Kindermund*), owe their very existence to the easily stimulated (excited) power of memory. And as the best jokes, the most witty remarks, understood by everybody and finding free acceptance everywhere, have flourished upon sexual soil, so the most pleasing sayings of children are rarely without the unconscious expression of the desire for knowledge pertaining to sexual matters. In those sayings the experiences of earlier times are mirrored—those personal experiences which are intermingled with the general events of the day, affected by them, and altered also through the influence of training.

Pedagogy erects its educational structure upon the ability of the human mind (*Seele*) to remember. That is the foundation and the necessary presupposition for the mental and emotional development of the individual, as well as for the civilization (*Kultur*) of races. But for the aid of memory every attempt to influence the infantile mind (*Seele*) would be ineffective, and one could never succeed in teaching the child to take his proper place in the world, to submit to social custom—to the so-called "conventions." When using punishment for the child's good, we appeal to his power of memory; and we do the same with reference to each word of admonition, each word of affection, and every expression of good-will. Tiedemann⁵ reports as follows with reference to his son then near the end of

⁵ Tiedemann, *l. c.*, p. 34.

his second year: "On the twentieth of July he came upon a place in the house where he had been punished, about four weeks before, because he had made a mess there. Without other provocative cause than the sight of the familiar spot, instantly he said (not distinctly in entire words, but plainly enough to let this be recognized as his thought) that whoever "dirted" the room would get a good beating. Thus we see, that thoughts proceeding from that time of woe had remained with him. As we have learned, masochism and muscle-erotism take away from every punishment much of its painful character; and evidently they did not miss their effect in this case, in spite of the tender youth of the boy in question. The mind of the child receives impressions easily, all pleasure-accented ones in particular, and holds them hard and fast. For that reason, the "forgetting" of a command forbidding something or of an order to do something, is seldom a true forgetting but is one desired by (it represents a real desire of) "the subconscious." The unconsciously motivated forgetting is a form of forgetting which, as soon as it becomes a source of pleasure (lit. = as soon as the gain in pleasure is drawn from it), turns into a remembering. The child, like the adult, often forgets where he intends to forget,⁶ only the motives for this process remain more thoroughly concealed from him than they do under like conditions from the grown person. It is significant that mothers are so often obliged to remind their children of the necessity of responding to their bodily needs; while this is rarely the case when the children are at meals, and then mostly if the food is little liked.⁷ Conversely, the memory is very active⁸ if only it is sufficiently well established upon an erotic basis (*sexuell-erotisch fundiert*). During a stay in the country, in his fourth year, my nephew let no day go by without passing his urine through a hole in a certain garden-fence, sooner or later, while he was out for a walk. And even now, after three years have passed, the memory of that board fence calls out a meaning smile.

Memory-images are of greatest importance in the learning of letters and numbers during play. The majority of children from educated families know the alphabet and the numbers, wholly or in part, long before the beginning of the school-period. Most children teach themselves the letters from those found on business-signs, placards, hand-bills, etc. Surely it is of some consequence what kind

⁶ He forgets what he does not want to remember. Trans.

⁷ Thus with children, their own memories prove sufficient guides when supplemented by the influence of a hearty meal. Trans.

⁸ It needs no additional influence. Trans.

of advertising media these are. My nephew had the liveliest interest in representations of scenes of jealousy and of murder, in the bill-posters of a moving-picture show, and likewise in the pictures of fights (especially of naked wrestlers); but he liked pictures designed for children, too (preferring scenes of punishment). He studied out for himself the letters and numbers on placards—also on the sign-boards of the electric street-cars. For instance, at three and a half years of age, he called the cars marked with a figure 8, "Pretzel-cars," "S-cars," "Snake-cars."

According to Preyer and others, memory controlled by will, namely, the act of recollecting (recalling) (*das Sich-Besinnen*), appears in the third year—but according to Stern, not until later. These acts are of supreme importance as having a direct bearing on education. For as soon as the child is able to subject his memories more and more to his will, and hence by turning voluntary attention to something in the past to have the power to summon it at pleasure from the store-house of memory—then the time has arrived when instruction and admonition will begin to have lasting influence. But at this stage of his life, the child also becomes acquainted with certain illusions of memory (*Erinnerungstäuschungen*), although, for reasons to be discussed later, he is apt to hold fast to them in spite of recognizing their true nature. Frequently it happens that (the process of) recollection appears first in relation to localities (places) where the child has had experiences of some sort which were of emotional importance. My nephew who was once to blame for his mother's missing a train because of his playing too long with a little dog, remembers the circumstances perfectly to this day—after three and a half years. Memories connected with time are more slowly established than those relating to place. To the child "once" is sometimes yesterday, sometimes a year ago, or longer yet. Children often get confused, also, in their attempts to make a selective use of the words "to-day" and "yesterday"; not because of a faulty word-memory, such as sometimes causes them to substitute "yesterday" for "to-morrow," or the reverse, but because of a memory-illusion in regard to time.

IV. IMAGINATION (*DIE PHANTASIE*).

Perhaps the power of mind which enables us to beautify the homeliest things, and to transform every-day occurrences into something wonderful, flutters its wings (so to speak) before the reason is able to put the fanciful creations into words. One is often amazed

over the thought-associations which the child forms at a time when he is barely able to express himself in speech. The power of association and the power of memory are the substructure and the foundation-piles of the airy castles of the imagination. These are mental constructions which, however broad and high, are always based upon real experiences. Illusion and combination, supplementing each other, utilize as their materials the mental-images which past, present, and future supply, and melt or fuse them together, as it were; and the scope of this work of the imagination is infinitely wide. At no stage of life is the human being able to yield himself so unreservedly to the magic sway of the imagination as in the play-period. Sully designates the third to the fourth year of life as the highest point in the development of the imagination. On the one hand, at that period, everything is still new enough to the child to command his undivided attention, and he follows his instinct for investigation; on the other hand, his intelligence has been awakened to such an extent, through the environmental influences to which he has been exposed, as to be able to apperceive, and make some practical use of the impressions received. If one subscribes to the view that the work of the child's imagination is dependent on (determined by) the receptive power of his mind, one finds oneself in harmony with Herbart, who maintains that the imagination (*Einbildungskraft*) shows its strongest development in the seventh year of life. I think that such generalizations with regard to the working of the infantile mind are not of much value, for the reason that they do not take individual differences sufficiently into account. It should be borne in mind that the imagination is likewise peculiarly dependent, for the details of its development, upon the *milieu*. A child living in the country develops very differently from a child whose home is in the city. The power, the terror, and the beauty of the phenomena of nature—which the city-child has perhaps had no opportunity to observe—make a lasting impression on the soul of the country-child. The child growing up in the quiet of a village, invests the city—in his fancy—with enchantments that for the city-child have long since lost their magic charm. Also, more than one child, coming from the bustling crowd of a great city, and entering a forest for the first time, finds the aphorism prove itself literally true, "He cannot see the forest, for the trees." Here fairy-tales—with their dark, pathless forests—have given rise to an idea far removed from reality, and imagination has promptly seized the thoughts and embellished them. Imagination peoples the forest

with fabulous beings and monsters, with thieves and murderers, and thus prepares a fertile soil for fear. Are there not thousands of adults who are afraid of being surprised in a forest by darkness drawing on? In this they hold firmly to the old, long-forgotten childhood fear, even though they are unwilling to admit the truth of such a connection in thought.

There is not a single thing so insignificant but that imagination could lend it size and importance. For the child, imagination puts life into every piece of wood—to the boy a stick is a man-destroying soldier, to the little girl a stick becomes “a real live baby.” All the poetry of the child’s soul is rooted in imagination. Naturally, a sexually erotic (sexuell-erotische) note, too, makes itself conspicuous here. The little girl who rocks her doll or places it at her breast to nurse it, believes in the reality of her act. (It is what *she* thinks it to be.) She feels herself “a truly, truly mother,” and she carries out all the measures for the care of dolly’s body, with the same busy interest and the same tenderness as she sees her own mother do with a flesh and blood baby. The little girl does not forget to put into effect on her doll-child the scolding and the punishments which she herself has had to suffer upon occasion. Here, anal-erotism and sadism find a rich field for activity, in a positive sense as well as in the form of over-compensation. In the little mother’s imitative house-keeping, the continual scouring and polishing, the over-industrious setting the house in order and arranging everything to suit her taste—these acts do not spring solely from a desire, on her part, for activity, but they must be recognized as a beginning of the repression of *forbidden* desires, of those longings which live themselves out, in their primitive form, in the game of “Doctor,” and appear in phantasies under many different forms. During an autumn stay in the country at the home of a friend of his mother, my nephew, at that time three and a half years old, helped to dig up the cabbage-turnips. Suddenly he cried out: “Mammi!” (He called the lady by that name to distinguish her from his “Mutti.”) “Mammi! Those that have dirty faces (= show bad spots) I shall place with the Popo (dem Strunk, the stalk end) up.” Little Tiedemann,¹ at two years of age, gave a similar personal designation to the stalks of the white cabbage (Kraut). Scupin’s² little boy loved dearly to peel boiled potatoes; for to him they were “little naked things” (kleine Nackedei), and for that reason they were objects of affec-

¹ Tiedemann, *l. c.*, p. 37.

² Scupin, *l. c.*, p. 80.

tionate regard; his imagination evidently converted the potato-skin into a dress—as of a child—and endowed the potato with human form, thus securing, virtually, a chance to indulge in a nakedness phantasy. Imagination rules the life of the child so powerfully that he gladly contributes something of his own personality to the creations of his fancy, and he takes it very ill when people around him do not recognize this fact. Stern³ writes of his son, Günter: “In the case of our boy we noticed signs of the powerful influence of the imagination (*Illusionsleben*) at a very early age. There was a period (from two years and nine months to three years and six months, shortly after the birth of his little sister) in which, for hours at a time, during the day, he assumed the rôle of another person, and also assigned fanciful parts to other people. He calls himself merely ‘big sister’ (*hosse (grosse) Schwester*), but to his real *big* sister, Hilde, he gives various other names—‘little Hester’ (*Schwester*), ‘Mize,’ or ‘Gettud.’ His mother is ‘Hossmutter’ (*Grossmutter*, grandmother). On many days he is ‘Muttsen’ (mother), and in that rôle he takes care of his ‘little’ sister. The peculiar thing is that he carries out these ideas in situations of real life, too—at dinner, when dressing, etc.—and he is beside himself with rage if anybody wishes to correct his statements by giving the right names. He calls himself ‘big sister’ (*hosse Hester*) before strangers also. This fanciful self-deception plays a part even in his most highly emotional states. Although moved to tears, or in great excitement, he persists in holding to his phantasies, and this is true even for the hours of the night. One evening, not long ago, I heard him crying piteously in his bed, and in answer to my question, he complained disconsolately, that his little ball, and also the big one, had been lost on the Avenue. He begged that his ‘grandmother’ might go out in the morning with ‘big sister’ (himself) to find the balls; but he said that ‘little Mize’ must not go with them. How great his grief was over the loss of the balls is clear from this, that even the comforting assurance that a new ball should be bought for him was of no avail. ‘No, don’t *buy* a ball. *Find* the big ball and the little ball,’ he sobbed; and yet with all his sorrow and wailing, he clung to the rôles as he had assigned them.”

Sully mentions two sisters who proposed to play “being sisters”; and the “father and mother” game is just as ancient as that of “mother and child.” Now the question comes: Why does the child literally live himself into the rôle of one or another member of the

³ Stern, *Erinnerung, Aussage, u. Lüge*, p. 104.

family with such intensity that he not only refuses to give up this phantasy himself, but also demands of other people that they shall respect it, as if real? I shall point out, later: in the first place, what an immense influence parents and brothers and sisters exert in the love-life of the child; in the next place, how an addition to the family seldom gives him a feeling of pleasure, since the little newcomer robs him of a part of the parental love; and finally, how each child tends to become envious of that parent who is of the same sex with himself, and how—by the aid of the creative power of imagination—he endeavors to secure for himself *in fancy*, and by way of compensation, certain results for which he longs but which, in reality, he must forego. When little Ernst Wolfgang Scupin,⁴ in his fourth year, said of his own accord: "But I shall put my papa in a soup-kettle and pour hot water over his face, all the time, with the ladle until he is nice and tender, and then I'll eat him up" the child gave expression to a phantasy of a sort that is not to be traced back solely to the fairy-tale of "Hänsel and Gretel" with the witch, but that voices the unconscious purpose of conveniently ridding oneself of "papa," the most dangerous rival near "mamma"; and the fairy-tale simply provides a cloak which serves to clothe the evil wish in harmless form. Little Günter S—, shortly after the birth of his little sister, began to play the parts of certain other members of the family in a way that was quite significant, now assuming the rôle of "big sister," now that of "mother." In short, since he had been thrust out of his place as youngest and most important member of the family, he took on (in fancy) the character of "mother" (who cares for everybody, and hence is very much needed), or he sought, at least, to have himself regarded as "the older sister."

In his play, where the power of phantasy makes itself so strongly felt, the child begins to show his interest in the difference between the sexes, and it is characteristic of him when he assumes a new rôle that it is usually that of a person of the same sex with himself. Boys, in particular, directly refuse to take either a woman's part or that of a little girl. This tendency should be regarded as indicating what a serious matter play is to the young child, and also what youthful ambition is striving to accomplish. He wishes to represent himself as occupying positions of no less importance than those held by persons who have some real or imagined advantage over others. For that reason, in playing war, the boy wishes to be a

⁴ Scupin, *l. c.*, p. 81.

"General," and will consent only unwillingly to be a common soldier, but if he must be the latter, he makes himself conspicuous, at any rate, through special courage or else through qualities which would bring him the reputation of badness;⁵ he prefers, for instance, to be a robber rather than a gendarme on pay. And, so too, the little girl would rather be "the lady of the house" than "the cook," and rather "the mother" than "the child." But whenever a subordinate part is taken, an ambitious child always learns to compensate himself therefor by indulging in imaginary excesses of one or another sort. In all such games the child wishes the semblance of reality to be preserved, and he insists on the constant recognition of this by his environment—to be sure, only while the game lasts. When from four to six years of age, my nephew loved to play with his aunt a game which he called "teamster"; in playing this game, however, he took the part of "express-agent," "station-master," or "building-contractor," while she, as the veritable "teamster," had to pretend to be a regular block-head, so as to give him ample opportunity for grumbling and scolding. It went very much against the child's will when the "teamster," having been treated all too rudely, suddenly declared he wouldn't stand that, he was going to the police to enter a complaint. "No, no! Aunt H—," replied the little rogue, "You mustn't dare do that. That's no way to play!" Little Scupin,⁶ too, used to take it very ill if his mother did not enter into his plan and accept his play-inventions the instant he chose to make himself, for example, "a letter-carrier" or "a merchant." At the centre of all these games a deeply embedded "cause" lies like a sort of core. For in thus playing, the child is able to live-out his hostile impulses toward his parents, brothers, and sisters without being obliged to fear punishment, as he can stop his play at any moment. Only in play does he refuse obedience; only in play does he speak against his brothers and sisters, beating and insulting them while dolls bear their names; and only in play does he gain the chance to exercise a tyranny which the traditions of the nursery would not tolerate. Indeed, if one or the other of his parents has recently drawn upon himself (or herself) a feeling of disapproval on the part of the little critic, he understands how to voice this criticism in plain terms in the "papa and mamma" game. But the child also has a chance, in imagination, to do good deeds, for the performing of which both the will and the power fail him in actual life.

⁵ Shakespeare's *Richard III*, Act I, Sc. 1.

⁶ Scupin, *l. c.*, p. 151.

A special place in the child's phantasy-life belongs to the festivals which are celebrated regularly in the family, and above all to Christmas with its measureless mystery and charm. For a long while the intelligent child, rich in imagination (*phantasiereich*), holds firmly to his belief in the Christ-Child, the Weihnachtsmann, St. Nicholas, and Krampus—even if at times he also boasts of his superiority to this fairy-tale lore. The supernatural, the wonderful, is such an essential element of the child's reveries that he leaves this sphere of thought only against his will, for unconsciously he feels that with the ceasing of the beautiful child-faith much of the poetry of life goes too. Goltz⁷ writes: "Upon the whole, I always enjoyed miracles better than I did the rational explanations of them—those explanations which, examined closely, in broad daylight, so to speak—led me further than ever into the thick wood; and I have seldom wished to annoy a person with inquiries concerning what I have felt, in my very soul, to be something miraculous." To the child the brightly lighted Christmas-tree is a live thing, a *living being* (*Wesen*) from another, mysterious world—and this would be so to him, even if he had seen ever so many Christmas-trees in the market the day before. When a child myself, I never could help being surprised that "very ordinary" people sold them. A certain little girl of six years begs earnestly that the Christmas-tree be not burned after the holidays, "because that hurts the Christ-Child." And for the same reason a boy of five years old refused to eat the little angel-shaped cakes from the Christmas-tree. "No, no!" he cried. "If I do, I shall have to bite the Christ-Child's wings off." As a result of this tendency of the childish phantasy to endow with life everything belonging to the Christmas festival, an impression is made of which traces remain even in advanced years. Poetic natures retain for themselves an unadmitted remnant of the old belief in the wonder-workings of the Weihnachtsmann, and show this in the warnings they are so fond of giving to the children not to touch the manger and the angel (*Krippe und Engel*), and not to regard the decorated tree—or the ornaments from it—as mere toys.

The work of the imagination is shown at its best in the child's power of living over the pleasures of the holiday season *before they come to pass*. All his life no adult ever forgets the secret doings in his parents' home at Christmas; the listening at the door, the excitement of the waiting for mother to return from making purchases. These are fore-pleasures for which the child has a great

⁷ Goltz, *l. c.*, p. 162.

fondness. My nephew, in spite of having declared positively, upon a certain occasion as early as in his fourth year, that he knew there was no Christ-Child, that the presents came from father, mother, and aunts, nevertheless did not fail, even as late as when six years old, to ask daily, at Christmas time, whether we had seen the Christ-Child and what he had said. Indeed, Max, of his own accord, prepared a notebook for the Christ-Child to read in which "Mutti" was obliged to enter her son's "good deeds" (Bravheiten) on the left-hand side, and his "bad deeds" (Schlimmheiten) on the right-hand side; and for every good deed done she had to strike out a bad deed. And if it happened that he did not want to go to sleep at night, then the question: "Is Maxi asleep?" spoken in the disguised voice of his great-aunt, always had a good effect. Invariably came the reply: "Yes, Christ-Child, I am going to sleep now. Good night, Christ-Child." Whereupon the latter had to say, in a soft voice: "Good night, Maxi." In the same way, from his third to his seventh year, his interest in the Christ-Child's "work-shop" remained constantly active; and rain and snow came to have, for little Max, anal and urethral associations of an erotic sort related to fancied operations there. It seemed to him a self-understood thing, that grown people should telephone to this mystic spot; and without our knowing the association for it in his thought, the number "VIII, 568" was invented as telephone-number for the place from which presents generally came. The telephone subdivisions were: (1) the Christ-Child, (2) St. Nicholas, (3) the Easter rabbit, (4) the Birthday-Man, and (5) the Nameday-Man. This is an up-to-date improvement on the time-worn custom among children of writing letters to the Christ-Child. The "list of wishes" also plays a great part in the life of my nephew. Perhaps this childish habit, especially when it is carried to excess, is to be regarded as the forerunner of the passion for making out catalogues, inventories, etc.—a practice which many adults affect under a sort of compulsion.

As the thoughts of children revolve about Christmas with special delight, so Easter in its turn forms a similar centre of interest for the imagination. In his subconscious self what child doubts the reality of the Easter rabbit? Scupin's Bubi⁸ makes drawings and clay-models of it, and hopes to meet it on his daily walks. He thinks of the rabbit as dispenser of small gifts, even after Easter has passed; and he attributes the fact that a hole was darned in his stocking during the night to the friendly intervention of the little

⁸ Scupin, *l. c.*, pp. 153, 210.

creature. The reason for this very lively interest in the Easter rabbit, on the child's part, is that through the associations connected therewith the problem as to the origin of living beings presses for an answer. With tears falling from his eyes, my nephew refused to eat the little Marzipan chickens and rabbits, because, he said (regardless of scientific considerations), "They are the children of the Easter rabbit."

The refusal of children to eat sweets shaped like animals or like human beings—a notion which occasionally passes over into its opposite—is so common that a deeper motive than that usually ascribed to it must be thought of as really operative; such refusals show that the child's mind, in bestowing the attributes of a person upon inanimate things, passes in feeling through the entire scale of love and hate. Kindly feelings, and cruel ones as well, are actively engaged in the production of phantasies; but the child often abandons his extravagant fancies for sound common sense when he is warned, for example, that whipping might hurt the little horse or the doll. "It does not feel anything; it is only wood" is the regular reply of sober reason, which, it is true, is likely to be suppressed again in the next moment by the imagination. A similar acknowledgment of the claims of reason appears in little Scupin's refusal when playing with his tin soldiers to allow those who had been shot down to have a victory, in their turn, over the enemy. "If the 'red ones' have already shot the 'blue ones' dead, then the 'blue ones' cannot get up and shoot the 'red ones.'" The infantile (*kindlich*) phantasy takes its own paths, and no path is too steep for it; imagination finds a way out in every emergency, but will not let itself be forced by another person's intelligence (*von fremdem Geist*).

(To be continued)

ABSTRACTS

Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische und Psychopathologische Forschungen

ABSTRACTED BY LEONARD BLUMGART, M.D.

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(Continued from page 120)

The third case he discusses is the little girl, who is noticed to be most precocious when very young. Sadger says that she flirted with him at the age of one and a half years. At one and three quarter years, as an evidence of her very strong attraction for her father, it was noted that when she received a photograph of him at the time he went on a long trip, the child was inseparable from it. She took it to bed with her, to the table, on her walks, etc., and showed it to everybody. From birth this child had urinated much and often. As a natural result of her father's experience, she was very strictly treated and often punished, all without avail. She urinated involuntarily every time she was frightened or punished. It was noticed that when her intense desires were not fulfilled, she wet herself in her rage. Her father noted that at the age of one year and ten months she stood in front of him and wet herself, and at the same time had the vacant look of a masturbating child—this in spite of the realization that she would be severely punished. It would seem as if the pleasure derived from this act was greater than the pain which came as a necessary consequence. The relation between the child's wetting herself and her father's trips away from home is interesting. A few days after her father's departure she stopped wetting herself. But on his return her bad habits reasserted themselves; in fact, if she knew in advance that he was returning, she anticipated it by wetting her bed the night before his homecoming. This child showed, also, very strong negativistic tendencies. At the age of three, it had not been possible to train her to sit on the pot—this in spite of the fact that, in default of obedience, she suffered corporal punishment. If she was forcibly placed on it, she refused to evacuate her bowels or empty her bladder, despite the fact of her enforced position on her nursery chair, with this end in view, for long periods of time. Immediately after being dressed or put to bed she soiled herself. Her compulsion-neurotic father kept a diary of this child, and by far the largest portion of this journal is taken up with the struggle of the

parents to teach the child to acquire "room and bed cleanliness." In spite of the most severe chastisement, this child refused to pass dejecta or flush the bladder, except at her own convenience and pleasure, and though coerced into sitting for long periods on her chair, remained obdurate.

The second child of this couple, at the time this paper was written—the last citation—was not yet a year old. At three and a half months the mother noticed that every time she washed the genitals, the child had an erection; the slightest manipulation in this region caused the child to laugh heartily and to show every evidence of great pleasure. In its twelfth month his mother was forced to acknowledge that he masturbated. He refused to urinate alone and asked his mother to hold his penis for him. This bad habit was only overcome by repeated corporal punishment. Attempts have thus far been unsuccessful to teach him to empty bowels and bladder regularly into the pot. An additional interesting observation made by both parents is the marked preference he shows for the mother and the perfectly frank aversion manifested towards his father.

4. *Analysis of Egmont's Dream.*—In reading Goethe's "Egmont," Robitsek is impressed with the dream which Egmont has in the last act, and his first conscious movement toward his head, to feel for the laurel wreath of which he has dreamed. Stimulated by the work Freud had done in analyzing the dreams of Jensen's "Gradiva," he thereupon attempts an analysis of this dream in "Egmont."

Robitsek dissolves the dream into its elements; shows its relationship to the thoughts of the waking period; interprets its symbolism; and reveals the latent content behind the manifest one. He discusses the effect of the dream in resolving Egmont's fears of his coming execution into fantasies of freedom and triumph.

Robitsek points out that the dream is composed of the elements which are present in real dreams: first, memories of childhood; second, unfulfilled wishes; third, the material in the conscious. Egmont's memories of childhood explain the contradictory character of the dream. As a result of his unfulfilled wishes, he beholds as fulfilled in his dream "the two dearest joys of his heart," the freedom of his people and the possession of his beloved. And the fact that the consciousness of actuality is still present is shown by the fact that Egmont's first motion upon awaking is to feel for his head, as though to make sure he still possessed it. For, though he is conscious only of the picture of the goddess presenting him with a crown, nevertheless the thoughts of his execution have been but imperfectly repressed.

Finally, Robitsek asks how it is that a dream written by Goethe can so closely follow the lines, the structure, and the content shown by real dreams. He states that it is probably due to the identification of the author with his own hero. "Egmont" is, in fact, a piece of that "Great

Confession" which Goethe himself admitted was contained within all his works. Egmont is probably a portrait of Goethe in a certain period of his own life.

Robitsek closes with the words of Wagner's Hans Sachs:

"Just this the poet's work I deem:
To analyze his every dream.
For all the truths from men concealed
Are in their nightly dreams revealed.
And that which we call poetry
But clarifies and sets them free."

5. *A Dream that Explains Itself.*—

"In truth the subtle web of thought
Is like the weaver's fabric wrought:
One treadle moves a thousand lines,
Swift dart the shuttles to and fro,
Unseen the threads together flow,
One stroke a thousand threads combines."

(Faust.)

I. *The Technique of the Analysis of Dreams*

At the request of a young lady—not a neurotic—Rank undertook to analyze her dream. He deems it worthy of publication, because it reveals its own meaning. In order to make this fact clear, he refers to a point made by Freud concerning the technique of the analysis of dreams.

Freud distinguishes between the remembered "manifest dream content" and the "latent dream thoughts" which are gained through analytical interpretation. These latent thoughts are subdivided into two groups: first, the unconscious, buried under strata of psychic processes; second, understandable thoughts which may be localized in psychic regions, and which in the theory of dreams are known as the "preconscious." To interpret a dream thoroughly we must probe into sexual wishes set aside in infancy but capable of renewal in a later period. But to get at this material, it is necessary to combat the psychic forces which tend to distort the dream. As regards the element derived from the unconscious, the development of the technique of psychoanalysis, with its resulting uniformity of conclusions, has made it possible to interpret that element with a great degree of certainty.

II. *The Dream and its Interpretation*

The dreamer narrates her dream in the following words: (The parts included in parentheses are her supplementary remarks.)

"I was in a king's palace as governess. The queen, an elderly woman, wearing a Chinese dress with a long train, was about to depart

on a trip. I had to leave the child (whether a boy or a girl, I do not know), in order to bid her farewell. To this end, I was supposed to lie on the floor, but did not want to do it. Thereupon she struck me in the face with a rod. Then I lay down, so that my nose touched the ground. I thought to myself: 'So this is the good position I have found!' And then she struck me, until it hurt. Afterward she extended me her hand, which I kissed. The queen then instructed one of her companions to conduct me, as a reward, into a (Chinese) lavender room, which was otherwise a forbidden chamber. As I entered, I was greatly astonished to think that I had not been so badly treated, since I was to have the honor of looking at the room. The companion told me that there were birds here. Suddenly I saw a magnificent bird fly in from behind and alight near me. He had a long tail, and bore himself in a proud, springy manner, like a wagtail. His color was lavender, like that of the room. Then I saw green oleander-like trees in blue vessels at the entrance to the lavender room. The sun shone. (Through this door-like opening I saw a garden and thought: 'Lord, if I could only go out into the garden.' But I didn't get there.) Meanwhile, the steward, a tall, thin man, had likewise taken leave of the queen, and was also allowed to see the room. The queen told him that he must wait until I had left. He wanted to come in anyway, but the companion said that she had to lock up first. Then she unlocked the door again and he came in. The companion—or chambermaid—received twenty gulden as a reward. Then the queen pointed out to me a pink room containing a pink washstand, whereas the first reception room had been yellow. I surprised the king, a dark, stylish young man, who was dressing. (I saw him first in the mirror, then in reality. He was brushing up his hair; it was still wet and stood stiffly.) He said, 'Pardon me, this is not your room. I excused myself and went out, thinking, 'The king is such a stylish man and she such an old woman; he isn't at all suited to her.' Then I met him again in the reception room and he turned toward me, as though he were in love with me—I also could have fallen in love with him—and said that he, too, was going away. (Thereupon, in the yellow room, he again looked into the mirror, as if to convince himself that he was pleasing to me.) Astonished, I said to him, 'So you're going away?' 'Yes,' he said, 'I'm going away.' The chambermaid had to pack the master's things quickly. Whether or not they went away, I do not know. I didn't see the child again either."

Rank informs us that the dreamer has for several years been away from home, supporting herself as a governess. At the time of the dream she was without a position. The dream is the fulfilment of her wish for a good position, in pleasant surroundings. It recalls also the fact that, as a rule, she could not agree with her mistress and was annoyed by the master of the house. A second wish, that of a husband and a

home of her own, is also revealed, for the king represents the type of man she admires. Behind these desires is the sexual "hotel fantasy," indicated by the entrance into a forbidden room, the sight of the king's toilet accessories, etc.

By the aid of well-established symbolism already referred to we can probe still deeper into the dream. The queen and king typify the girl's parents, the stern mother and the loved father. The entrance into a forbidden room by way of a reward is probably the distortion of an episode in childhood, in which the dreamer was punished for having committed a forbidden act. The fact that the governess must leave the child to bid the queen farewell is based on the fact that the dreamer, upon ceasing to be a child, left home in order to rid herself of her domineering mother. The departure of the queen is the fulfilment of an erotic childhood wish that her mother might depart and leave her alone with her father. Why, however, a girl should have dreamed of a forbidden room—which usually symbolizes a woman—was not clear to Rank until he heard the continuation of the dream.

The Dream, Part 2

"I was back home, walking in the fields. (I looked toward the railway station and saw a young man, H., coming from there. I looked to see whether he was really coming, but he remained standing on the same spot. Soon I was unable to see him any more. Then a lovely turnip field, with large, beautiful leaves, caught my attention.) I cut off splendid ears of barley and corn. I was surprised that the barley should be ripe ahead of the corn, when just the reverse is true. At the same time, the ears struck me as being unusually beautiful, full, and ripe. I put the ears I had cut off into my apron, so that I wouldn't be talked about, and went home. I passed the mill, near which a friend of my youth, Z., was emerging from the bathhouse. He took off his hat to me. He went to the field in which I had been. I wanted to prevent his speaking to me, for I thought: 'He is certainly going to look at the barley, and will see that I have cut off the ears.' (It suddenly grew muddy, a fact which surprised me, since it had not rained in the meantime.) As I drew near home, I met a girl, A., who stood in front of the door (and had a dog with her) and held something black in her hand. She asked, 'Where do you come from?' 'I was walking,' I said. Then she saw the ears protruding from my apron—a thing which did not please me—and said, 'I suppose you gathered those for your housekeeper's hens?' I said, 'Yes.' Nearby stood another companion, B. The first girl, A., said, 'She is also here from Vienna.' I said, 'Is that so?' Then she said that she was not on speaking terms with B., and I answered, 'I am also angry at her.' A. accompanied me a little farther. We passed B., who stopped me. (While we spoke to one another, A. had curled herself up near the gate, and was stirring the ground with a stick, pretending that she wasn't

listening to us.) B. asked, 'Where were you?' I said, 'Walking.' 'What have you in your apron?' 'Ears.' 'Was the corn cut, then?' 'Yes.' 'Then I suppose you gathered them together after the reaping?' I said yes, for I didn't want to betray the fact that I had torn them off. She had needlework in her hand. Through the open gate I saw her garden, which was very alluring to me. Then she asked me if I couldn't go home with her. I said, 'Yes, but first I must bring the ears home.' The housekeeper was glad when I gave her the ears and remarked that, as a result, the hens would lay fine eggs. Then I was in my friend B.'s house; we were naked and fondled each other. . . ."

Close inspection reveals the same elements present in the two dreams, though in different guises. The king is represented by the young man emerging from the bathhouse; the bird appears again as the hens; there is a forbidden garden in each; the bundle of ears corresponds to the queen's bundle of rods. The forbidden room episode, which runs through folk-lore (cf. the story of "Bluebeard"), symbolizes that act forbidden to children: masturbation. The forbidden ears of corn have the same meaning. The similarity between the words ear (Ähre) and honor (Ehre) is significant.

The dreamer's meeting with the young man refers to a meeting with her former fiancé in the summer preceding the dream, when she was visiting her home. More recent incidents bearing on the dream were the girl's admiration of a beautiful bird, the reading of an article on the Chinese, and a discussion on the Eskimo custom of rubbing noses. The fact that the dream took place on the night before St. Nicholas Eve (December 6) awoke memories of garments received from her mother. The dreamer feared that she would not receive a gift this time, since she had not kissed her mother goodbye (cf. the parting with the queen). Rank points out that the governess' enforced position with nose to the ground is reminiscent of the punishment of dogs who are not house trained. The mud and rain mentioned in the second dream are manifestations of early anal- and urethral-eroticism.

It is significant that at the end of the second dream, the girl found herself in the same position as that in which she took leave of the queen. In the first dream the presence of her mother (the queer thwarts her sexual desires. The absence of the mother in the second dream permits the fulfilment of these desires.

Freud tells us that dreams in which facts are reversed (as, for example, the ripening of the corn and the barley) have, as a rule, a homosexual significance. That this dream has such a meaning is proved by the following facts: The girl referred to as B. was known to her playmates as "the mother," on account of her physical development and her attitude toward other children. In childhood the dreamer had "played father and mother" with a girl friend or her young brother,

always reserving the part of the father for herself. She was also fond of wearing masculine apparel. The fact that in the second dream she conducts herself as a man explains the significance of the room in the first dream. Yet her womanly instincts reveal themselves in her attitude toward the men in her dreams. Her bisexual nature is further shown by the fact that she does not know whether the child (a personification of herself in childhood) is a boy or a girl. The steward in the first dream is her masculine counterpart. The reference to the Chinese has, according to Stekel, a bisexual meaning, on account of the braid worn by the Chinaman. Finally, thorough investigation into the girl's character reveals a two-sided nature.

III. *Theoretical Observations*

A dream is not the reproduction of one thought but—to quote Freud—of a “web of thoughts,” reaching as far back as the unfulfilled wishes of early childhood. The first dream (built up from recent events and daydreams of the future) is interesting in that it presents in distorted form the primitive sexual material. The second dream (the fulfilment of actual infantile sexual wishes) is interesting in that it points the way to the interpretation of this symbolism. The first dream, in which desire is thwarted, is known as a “fear dream”; the second, which fulfils desire, as a “pollution dream.” These two types of dreams are “the end members of a series, in which the dream life of man is enacted in the most varied stages and forms of disguise.”

Analysis proves that normal as well as neurotic persons have psychosexual constitutions and sexual experiences in childhood. The difference between them lies in the fact that normal beings can control these complexes without harm to themselves. In childhood it is difficult to draw the line between the neurotics and those who in later life become normal.

This abstract is of necessity short, and, therefore, does not show to what a marvelous extent Rank has worked out its details. It is without doubt one of the best and most complete dream analyses that exists in psychoanalytic literature. It occupies seventy-six pages. Practically every dream mechanism of importance is illustrated. A careful study of this paper in the original is earnestly recommended to students of dream psychology and to all those who have doubts as to the correctness of Freud's dream psychology. Here they will find ample proof for most of the theories set up by Freud.

6. *Fantasy and Fable*.—Between individual psychology and race psychology there are certain close relations, which permit one to apply principles derived from the first to the second, and vice versa. Laws regulating the formation and disposition of ideas, the development and manifestation of impulses, inhibitions, habits, character building, education, the formation of taste in the individual, are more or less exactly

applicable to the race psyche, appearing in such equivalent forms as: spirit of the times, will of the people, public opinion, custom, ruling taste, criticism, etc.

In his study of the connection between individual and race psychology the author has profited by the works of Dr. Riklin and Dr. Abraham on the same subject.

I. *The Functional Phenomenon*

Silberer distinguishes between the material and the functional phenomena. The former deal with the thought content of the dream; the latter with the manner in which consciousness functions in the dream. The functional are usually characterized by an explicable feeling, such as weariness, or ease, according to the manner in which the thought operates.

II. *Dream, Myth, Fulfilment of Wishes, Freud's Ψ -Systems*

The dream of the individual and the myth of the race exhibit corresponding elements. Every dream is important, for it contains suppressed thoughts, disguised so as to please the censor of the mind. The same is true to a great extent of myths.

Abraham has pointed out that, just as the dreamer is incapable of understanding his dream, so the race cannot understand its mythology. As dreams have their roots in childhood (the prehistoric period of the individual), so myths are derived from the prehistoric epoch (the infantile life) of the race. Moreover, the individual, in his development, recapitulates to a very large extent the life of the race.

Someone has remarked that the long sleep of children is an ontogenetic reminiscence of the days when men were seers and dreams were reality. What we do know is that children live in a world of fancy which adults cannot approach.

Man's unfulfilled wishes often take the form of supernatural power, attributed to prehistoric times. Similarly, most fairy tales begin with an allusion to "the olden days, when wishes still availed." The historical race-wish to be a mighty people is expressed in myths in which the national hero is descended from a god.

Silberer closes this chapter with a reference to Freud's Ψ -systems, which typify, on the one hand, elementary psychic forces, and, on the other, those processes which seek to unify and sublimate the crude forces. Speaking mythologically, the human mind, in its development, repeats the struggle of the Gods for supremacy over the Titans.

III. *The Functional Phenomenon in Fairy Tales and Myths*

The struggles which take place in the human mind are symbolized, as we have seen, in myths and fairy tales. Freud has identified the Devil as "the personification of suppressed impulses."

Silberer analyzes a fairy tale, to show that not only are folk-lore, myths, and fairy tales built up according to Freudian mechanism, but that a number of them reveal the mechanism itself. The story is as follows:

A king's son kills his parents and ascends the throne. Later he marries a princess, who gives birth to a daughter. Upon the death of her mother, this girl flees from her cruel father to a distant land, where she later marries the king. Her husband promises her that he will never harbor a guest without her consent. However, the wicked father succeeds in entering the palace, and causes the queen much suffering. At last the villain is brought to judgment and forced to tell his life history while bound with bands of iron. Every time he tries to lie the bands grip him. At the conclusion of his confession a stone beneath him opens and precipitates him into a kettle of boiling pitch, where he perishes.

The king's son (a strong egoistical wish) holds sway over his wife (the reason). At the death of his wife their daughter (the psyche) is in danger of being overpowered. Not being strong enough to combat her father, she flees (the oppressed thought isolates itself from the overpowering complex). She exacts the promise that a guest shall not be entertained without her knowledge (the psyche opposes the entrance of the displaced complex). The father succeeds in entering. As a result, the daughter suffers (psychoneurosis). Through the father's confession (psychoanalysis) she is released.

This tale, as most myths, contains a functional phenomenon, the phenomenon of thought repression.

IV. *Examples from the Domains of Fairy Tales, Myths, and Magic*

Grimm's story of "The Frog Prince"—in which the princess is compelled to take the frog home as her playmate—symbolizes a woman's disgust for the sexual. The prince who is delivered from his enchantment represents a freed psyche.

Enchantment reminds one of the compulsion neurosis, or of the disturbances of physiological functions in hysteria. The evil spirit, or witch, is in many cases a condensation of the idea of the sexual rival with that of repressed sexual impulses.

In Grimm's "Fairy Tell True," where the opening of a forbidden door gilds the culprit's finger, fear of discovery results in a psychoneurosis, accompanied by a compulsory attempt to remove the gold. The compulsion lasts until the suppressed element (the opening of the door) is brought to light through confession. That this story has a sexual meaning is proved by the fact that the girl's confession quenches the flames which were about to consume her.

Here it is the good fairy¹ who brings about the heroine's salvation.

¹ In the German version, the Virgin. (Abstracter's note.)

The god who rescues the hero of a tale is a projection of the hero's own soul; a fantastic "dramatic person," who is able to perceive that which the individual himself cannot perceive.

In many tales the heroes are given impossible tasks to accomplish. And these heroes are for the most part simple people or else children. The reason why children succeed in executing the impossible is that it is they who in real life come closest to the fulfilment of their wishes.

The fact that heroes often become kings or lords symbolizes the process of sublimation. The evil spirits never lend themselves to sublimation. They must be overcome by a magic sword (the will). They flourish in the dark (the unconscious region) but perish in the light (of consciousness).

A functional phenomenon in simple myths and fairy tales is the objective expression of feeling. Thus in the "Frog Prince" disgust is embodied in the form of a loathsome frog. Likewise, the mythological gods of light, storm, wisdom, etc., are projections of the inner life. The wanderings of the soul, seeking purification, typify the mind's striving toward harmony.

V. For the Comprehension of the "Mythological Stage" of Knowledge—Further Examples

Silberer points out that that conception is termed mythological which has been succeeded by a more enlightened view of the subject. Thus, at some future time, the ideas of our day will be termed mythological, in view of future knowledge. Those ideas which are not comprehensible appear to us in symbolic form. The symbol stands as an intermediary between us and the truth. The step-like progress of knowledge is ever working toward the goal of absolute knowledge. Mythology, in portraying a time when such knowledge prevailed, gives the race hope of reattaining this power. Here lies also one of the psychological roots of religion—religion which prophesies the return of man to his original godlike state.

The myth, like the dream, contains condensed elements. Just as the naïve dreamer never attains a full comprehension of his dream, so the race that produces myths never penetrates their inmost meaning. In every age learned men have tried to solve these hidden truths. We must not expect, however, that every myth or tale contains elements revealing religious conceptions. Some myths are merely the childish-mythological portrayal of a subject. But all myths, like dreams, contain a chain of thoughts, leading to a definite point.

In a subtle manner the heavenly, human, astronomical, earthly, and ethical elements are condensed in mythology. An example showing this dream-like mechanism is the story of the migration of souls.

The souls known as "damp" souls are lured down from heaven by

Dionysos, god of wine, who represents pantheistic nature as opposed to the oneness of God. The dark, damp earth attracts the damp souls. Their emotional life now resembles the restless sea. As the water produces living things from the dead earth, so the souls animate bodies which would be dead without them. (Fertilization through water has a sexual meaning.) They drink from the damp cup of Dionysos and forget their higher natures.

The sea denotes the underworld into which the sun sinks, in order to rise, refreshed, in the morning. Our spiritual sun, consciousness, likewise disappears at night, to reappear in the morning. Sleep may, therefore, be considered as the damp underworld of consciousness. As soon as the sun, triumphant, mounts out of the dark, the soul starts on its way to the light.

Mythology pictures the souls as having butterfly's wings. When they drop to earth, they lose their wings and go through the various stages in the life of the butterfly. Unaware of their godly origin, they change into a crysalis in the dark. But a drink from the cup of knowledge restores them to consciousness. After many wanderings and purifications they enter, new-winged, the Zodiacal door to the upper world and return to their homes.

The descent and ascent of the soul is a functional phenomenon. The ascent, typifying the feeling of freedom accompanying a climb into higher mountain regions, may symbolically be applied to the sphere of the psychic.

7. *The Psychoanalysis of Freud*.—Bleuler says that Freud's followers are charged with being actuated by emotional rather than scientific motives. Yet the very men who bring this criticism give evidence of but an imperfect understanding of that which they oppose. Overlooking the mass of facts upon which Freud has built his theories, they demand proof. But they furnish no proof on their side. They base their objections on esthetic and ethical grounds, which surely have no place in a scientific discussion.

Pansexualism

The most vehement accusations are directed against Freud's conception of the sexual in man. This is labeled, from the intellectual viewpoint, as nonsense, and from the emotional, as disgusting. Yet sexual desires are natural to all; they are the most repressed of the fundamental desires. Repression and hypocrisy concerning them are harmful.

Upon investigation, the great majority of symptoms attributed to other causes are proved to have a sexual origin. Of the hundreds of schizophrenic patients analyzed by the author, none was without a sexual complex. In most cases, it was the dominating symptom. Contrary to the inference of critics, the analyst was careful not to make any suggestion leading to the disclosure of the patient's sexual experiences.

Many objections to the sexual theory would be overcome, if the Freudian definition of the sexual were understood. The Freudian "libido" embraces all positive strivings, even such, for example, as the infant's desire for food.

Sexual desires in the child are evident to all who do not blind themselves to facts. Freud and Frank have found, through analysis, that as early as the fourth year, the foundations of a later sexual development are laid. Likewise, the much discussed "Oedipus complex," so revolting to critics, is an established fact.

The Mistakes of Normals

Many complexes are bound up with seemingly irrelevant thoughts. Bleuler cites as an example the case of a man who, in repeating a Latin quotation, could not recall the simple word "aliquis." Freud discovered, upon analysis, that this inability resulted from the patient's repressed fear that his mistress might be pregnant and so fail to menstruate.

Association Experiment

The same concept is colored, at different times, with different emotions. But analysts, versed in the methods of psychoanalysis, can detect the underlying complex.

That other persons have been unable to isolate the complex from its associations is due to the fact that they have not gone about the experiment in the proper way.

Interpretation and Symbolism

Facts regarding patients which are accepted when obtained through other sources are doubted when proved to be true through psychoanalysis. Yet through this method, the same fact is not repeated, but is brought forward in different guises, so that each time new light is thrown upon it.

Psychoanalysts do not claim the absolute certainty and completeness of every analysis. But since complexes possess almost stereotyped symbols, which reappear in person after person, the experienced analyst can detect these complexes with a great degree of assurance. Physical reactions on the part of the patient, such as alteration of the tone, blushing, trembling, movements of hands and feet, reveal much without the patient's knowledge. Thus, the word "yes," uttered in certain tones, can be interpreted as meaning "no," and vice versa.

Therapy

Psychoanalysis cures cases to which other methods are inaccessible. Every one knows that the outward expression of emotion—as, for

instance, weeping—has a soothing effect; that, on the contrary, the suppression of emotions is harmful. But when this principle is applied in psychoanalysis, its efficacy is disputed.

It is claimed that the unconscious, disturbing complexes are suggested to the patients by the doctor. Let, however, the patient follow these "suggestions" to the end, and he will discover that he entertained them long before the cure began.

Another argument against the treatment is that psychoanalyzed persons lose their purity of mind. Bleuler answers it by this question: Is it better to relegate one's repressed sexuality to the realm of dreams and neuroses, or to regulate one's acts in the light of knowledge?

Psychoanalytic therapy is still in its infancy; time alone will prove its test.

Criticism

Bleuler hesitates to criticize Freud, because experience has proved to him that those Freudian theories which at first seemed to him untrue or absurd were, in the end, correct. Moreover, many of his criticisms are levelled at individual Freudian scholars rather than at the master himself. That he should differ from Freud in minor questions is not surprising, since in psychological, as in many other scientific subjects, absolute certainty is impossible.

Bleuler points out the dangers of generalizations built upon insufficient proof. He is opposed to pathographies, such as those of Kleist, because of the incompleteness of the material at hand, and because these works are presented to a public unacquainted with Freudian theories. Similar studies of literary heroes also appear unsatisfactory to him.

Concerning Freud's sexual theory, the author is not convinced that infantile sexuality is much richer in autoerotic, somatic, and psychic material than later periods; nor that the unconscious processes revert entirely to infantile sexuality. Likewise, Freud's studies of wit do not appear to him thoroughly conclusive. He believes that the future may reveal a mixed etiology and show the relative parts played by sexual and other causes.

Historical Relations

The sublimation and repression of sexuality has long been known to poets and (at least the first of these) to physicians. Conclusions formulated by Freud had long before been apparent to Bleuler, as a result of his psychological investigations.

The conception of emotion as a quantity, directly proportionate to the energy possessed by the idea which the emotion accompanies, is not new. The transference of the same emotion from one object to another is likewise a matter of common observation.

Bleuler is not prepared to state the exact relation between sexuality and such processes as religious fervor, esthetic ideals, or thirst for

knowledge, regarded by Freud as sublimations of erotic impulses. He offers the supposition that scientific or esthetic urgings, primarily present, are strengthened by the influence of the libido.

The relation of fear dreams and other manifestations of fear to sexuality is not new to us. It remained for Freud, however, to point out that a sexual repression or frustrated striving provoked the fear.

Observation shows that unconscious processes influence our conscious thoughts and acts. Many actions which cannot be traced to outward circumstances prove, upon investigation, to have originated in the region of the unconscious. The unconscious is such an integral part of the psyche and has such influence on our whole life, that Bleuler does not understand the Freudian limitation of its origin to the infantile period.

In discussing thought association, Bleuler points out that an experience which arouses a certain affect for the first time creates that emotion for the whole life. Later experiences similar to the first call up merely modifications of the first affect. This creation of affective tones explains the tremendous significance of infantile experiences in later life.

Bleuler considers the Freudian theory of dream interpretation as one of the greatest aids to the understanding of the psychology of the unconscious. Yet the mechanism contains gaps which demand further proof.

As to the question of bisexuality, investigation has revealed homosexual tendencies in normal as well as in abnormal persons.

Resumé

Bleuler sums up his article in the following words:

"With the exception, perhaps, of the investigations of Heilbronner, I know of no attack on the Freudian teachings which is to the point. Most of them rest upon ignorance in theory and practical application of the psychology of the unconscious (Tiefenpsychologie). The attacks against the therapeutic methods are based, for the most part, on Freud's conception of sexuality, which his opponents unscientifically oppose with ethical motives. If the Freudian school has erred in the matter of exposition and argument, it has been greatly surpassed in this respect by its antagonists.

"The greater, I might say the fundamental portion of the Freudian teachings is based in logical fashion on assured facts, and must, therefore, be regarded as correct. Furthermore, much of that which, according to Freud's presentation, astonishes the public, is not new, but is merely used in a new connection. If one is well acquainted with the workings of the emotional element in our psyche, most of the Freudian mechanisms will appear as self-evident postulates. One has but to consider how great is their activity in reality. The rest of the Freudian

psychology is not nonsense, but disputable hypotheses, from which, in the future, much truth may be precipitated. That in the fine points of the entire school many details are problematical, too quickly generalized, or directly false, is not surprising. It would be marvelous if false conclusions were not drawn in this freshly ploughed field and in the unending complications of our psyche, as well as in every other sphere."

8. *Report of the Second Private Psychoanalytical Conference in Nuremberg on March 30 and 31, 1910.*

9. *Concerning Criticism of Psychoanalysis.*—Jung quotes a criticism of Freud's theories by Kurt Mendel (Neurological Zentralblatt, 1910), to show that such criticism is based, not on scientific facts, but on personal prejudices.

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

THE ORIGIN OF THE INCEST-AWE¹

BY TRIGANT BURROW, M.D., Ph.D.

EROS.

They put their finger on their lip,
The Powers above:
The seas their islands clip,
The moons in ocean dip,
They love, but name not love.

—Emerson.

If it were asked which of the manifold items which psychoanalysis has unearthed had been shown to be the most vitally important factor, the answer would be, without hesitation, the mental revolt against the sexual implication involved in the primary relation of the infant in respect to the maternal organism—the reaction recognized under the name of the Incest-Awe (Inzest-Scheu).²

¹ Mss. received March 4, 1918 [Ed.].

Read at the fifth annual meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association, New York City, May 4, 1915.

² At the reading of this paper the question was asked upon what ground the term "incest" could be made coterminous, as I here apply it, with the conception of biological repression in general, it being objected that incest is restricted to sexual relationship between members of the family of a necessarily opposite sex determination, for example, between mother and son, father and daughter, brother and sister.

In the anti-Freudian days, such an objection to the implication of my usage would have been quite in order. But with the general broadening of the connotation of sex through Freud's demonstration of biological sex-ambivalence, the conception of incest is correspondingly expanded to include the reaction of revolt against the implications of sex with respect to all the

Because of the basic significance of this factor in relation to disordered mental states, perhaps no subject can engage the study of the psychopathologist with larger offers of reward than this of the genesis of the incest-horror, the reaction technically known as the Oedipus-complex.

Referring to this moral repugnance inherent in the idea of incest, W. G. Frazer says that "the origin of incest is a mystery." I do not believe it. I do not believe that this biological phenomenon is beyond the range of comprehension. I believe that if we will follow to their ultimate conclusion the genetic data of consciousness which have been made accessible through the dynamic psychology of Freud, we shall not only reach a solution of the innate repugnance represented by the incest-awe, but we shall find that the solution of this phenomenon possesses an almost self-evident simplicity.

With regard to this problem of the incest-revolt, certain students have been content merely to affix the generic label of "Instinct" and there to let the matter rest but if the incest-revolt is a problem that is pertinent to psychoanalysis, we cannot be satisfied with any such inclusive generality as is connoted by so broad a concept as that of biological instinct. For the problems before the psychoanalyst are, of their very nature, concrete mental problems. They are problems of phylogenetically recent adaptations of consciousness. The aim of psychoanalysis is to determine the *reason why* of every reaction. However basic and original may be the source of a mental reaction, as psychoanalysts our task is to discover the dynamic *wherefore* of it.

Hence to invoke the oceanic concept of biological instinct is inadequate to the criteria of psychoanalysis. Besides, if I understand the meaning of the term "instinctive," it refers to an inherent, integrative trend determining the specific reactions of organisms with reference to their particular species. Now certainly the primary attachment of the child to the mother is instinctive. In its characteristic manifestation we are all agreed in speaking of the "instinct of suckling." If, then, the revolt due to the recognition of this primary fixation, or the incest-horror, is instinctive, we are driven to the conception of two elemental and inalienable instincts which are essentially opposed to one another—of two genetic,

members of one's own family whether they be of the same or of the opposite sex character. Here then the term incest-awe is used to express the revolt against the intimations of sex in relation to the members of the individual's family irrespective of a differentiation as to sex.

cosmic impulses set at cross purposes. Thus it is to erect towards an inherent urge of nature herself a no less inherent counter-urge.

At the furthest extreme from this biological position there is the more widely accepted psychological statement. According to this account, the incest-awe is due to the interdictions of society, to the universal ban of convention and of civilization. That is to say, the incest-revolt is regarded as the individual's response to a general social prohibition. This seems to me merely begging the question. To appeal to custom is to proceed from mouth to source. Such an account is certainly not genetic. Social custom is a derivative, not an elemental factor. The dynamic and inherent process of organic law precedes the mere consideration of social bias. Indeed, to cite social proscription as the account of a reaction as biological and inherent as the incest-awe, is comparable to a process of reasoning which would ascribe to ecclesiastical ordinance the origin of the religious impulse. That an argument so superficial should have found adherents among us is of itself proof, it seems to me, of our remoteness from the true interpretation of this reaction—that is, from the genetic account of this phenomenon.

I cannot help feeling that the vicarious rationalizations which have been thus far accepted indicate that the psychoanalyst is here face to face with an almost insurmountable resistance within himself, that here is presented a crisis in the handling of which psychoanalysis has very nearly met its Waterloo. I cannot otherwise account for the general acceptance within the ranks of psychoanalysis of an explanation which is not only utterly inadequate from the point of view of logic but which so entirely abrogates the sworn aims and methods of the psychoanalytic ideal.

I believe we shall gain a distinct advantage if in studying this mental problem, we will, at the outset, separate our notions of what is primary, subjective and biological, from what is secondary, objective and psychological—if we will separate our conception of unconscious, biological *unity* from our conception of conscious sexual *affinity*, isolating from our conception of the conscious sexual life (the so-called “unconscious,” when subjected to repression) a conception such as envisages a *preconscious* mode of consciousness, representing the original state of the infant psyche. With this distinction in view, let us for the moment leave the consideration of psychological mechanisms—the dynamic reactions we have studied in the analysis of our cases (reactions which I feel more and more are effects rather than primary causes) and proceed to the study of

an antecedent stage of consciousness, the original phase of mental life or the preconscious mode, as I have called it, from which as I believe such mechanisms are a later outgrowth.

The relation between the mother and the suckling infant is primary and biological. It is unitary, harmonious, homogeneous. For the infant the relationship is an essentially subjective one. It exists simply, without conscious arrangement or adaptation. It is the one single instance of inherent biological union—the one perfect, complete phase of conjugation. It exists simply and of itself, being exclusive of choice, of calculation. It is spontaneous, disinterested. Existing without object, it is, so to speak, one with life, like the course of the planets or the growth of trees. Being preconscious, it is in the truest sense unconscious. As I elsewhere expressed it, “the infant’s organic consciousness is, at its biological source within the maternal envelope, so harmoniously adapted to its environment as to constitute a perfect continuum with it.”³ Such is the character of this original biological union with the parent soil—this mental oneness of the infant with the maternal organism.

This unity with the mother, however, exists only in respect to the affective sphere—to the primary feelings and instincts. That is, it belongs to the subjective life of the organism, for there is as yet no cognition, no objectivation, no contrasting of the ego with the outer world, of the self with other selves—no *consciousness* in the habitual sense. In other words, this original mode, representing the primary glia of experience, consists of an essentially unitary, homogeneous, subjective, non-differentiated state of consciousness.

Now the demands of the world of outer objectivity or of consciousness proper entail increasing outrage to this state of primary quiescence. They more and more disturb the organism’s vegetative repose. Thus our primary nature shrinks from the intrusion of those outer impressions which disturb its elemental sleep. And so it may be said that *Nature abhors consciousness*. But with the increasing importunities of reality there begins the gradual increase of outer, objective consciousness. Slowly there is the establishment of that *rapport* between the organism and the external world, which constitutes individual adaptation. Observe that the process of adaptation is essentially outward-tending, away from the ego, that it is inherently a process of *objectivation*.

With increasing objectivation this outer *rapport* is later estab-

³ The Genesis and Meaning of Homosexuality. PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW, Vol. IV, No. 3, July, 1917.

lished in respect to the organism itself. Objectivation returns upon the very self from which it set out. The self becomes its own object and consciousness is as it were infolded. Being thus turned in upon itself, the mental organism has attained a state of mental development which distinguishes the human species from the rest of the animal world—the stage namely of self-consciousness.

As long as the consciousness of self even though a process of infolding, remains within the mode of cognition, it is but the more inclusive process of objectivation, and self-consciousness proceeds smoothly, uniformly. Even though there is the recognition of the self in respect to conduct, the relating of the ego to the outer act, as long as the process remains objective, consciousness maintains a constant course and the result is a uniform process of adaptation. But when this cognitive function applies itself to the primary affective sphere, when this objective principle is turned in upon an essentially subjective mode an inherent discrepancy arises, for the subjective and the objective spheres being essentially opposite and unassimilable, there is here an attempt to unite opposed and mutually exclusive principles. It is to turn about upon the essential self. It is to attempt to reconcile two phases of consciousness which are inherently incompatible—the phase of consciousness that arises from the primary pleasure-principle and the phase of consciousness that belongs to the secondary and adaptative reality-principle.

This disparity between trends that pertain respectively to the subjective and objective spheres of experience is illustrated upon every hand. The difference lies in the fact that that which we *feel* (the subjective) flows from within out, while that which we *apprehend* (the objective) flows from without in.⁴ In the first is represented the immediacy of affectivity, in the second the circumvention of cognition, rationalization, reflection. The one expresses the world of feeling, the other the world of thought.

My position is that these two components of consciousness are mutually incongruous. Pure cognition or reason impairs the processes of pure affective perception and vice versa. The essence of the affect of enjoyment is its spontaneity. In the presence of beauty one is caught up by the feeling it invites and forgets to think. When

⁴ The reason why the conventional, scientific student of medicine so generally misconceives the nature of the psychological problems of individual life lies in the fact that the objectively trained expert lacks access to the subjective sphere of perception through which alone any possible glimmer of understanding of these intricate processes is made manifest.

asked to think about it one is, as we say, "brought down to earth again," that is, he has left the realm of feeling and encountered again the world of "hard" fact.⁵

Everywhere there is seen this discrepancy between consciousness as feeling and consciousness as thought—that is, between the subjective and the objective spheres of consciousness.

The intuitive, artistic, inspirational type of personality—the subjective individual—senses his world through a process of subjective identification with it. The critical, scientific, objective type of personality compasses his environment through a process of calculation, of comparison, of contrast. It is the nature of enjoyment that one yields oneself completely to it—that he does so, that is, non-consciously. Conversely experience is robbed of enjoyment, of its affective quality, when it is too consciously, objectively experienced. It is so with music, with painting, with poetry, with all forms of art appreciation, such appreciation being a process of feeling, sympathy, *identification*. If this is true of affective appreciation in respect of art, of nature, of the harmonious elements about us, how much more is it true of the harmonious principle within ourselves—of those organically subjective states of experience we know as the reactions of love?

For Love is unity, participation, understanding. It is simple, harmonious, unquestioning. Love is one with life itself. It is life in its subjective relation. Cognition on the contrary pertains to contrast, demarcation, distinction. Knowledge is ulterior; consciousness strategic. Cognition is close kin to pride. It is one with *self* as an end. In other words, it is synonymous with acquisition, aim, calculation. Hence it is kin to self-interest, to desire, that is to say, to *sex*.

It is my thesis that the irreconcilable mental conflict represented in the incest-revolt is the expression of the inherent discrepancy that is due to this reversal of life when the objective mental principle is turned in upon the essentially primary, subjective phase of consciousness. It is the conflict embodied in the opposition between love as aspiration and life on the one hand and sex as covetousness and self on the other. Thus in my interpretation the incest-awe is the subjective reaction resulting from an affront to an inherent psychobiological principle of unity. It is the revulsion due to the impact of an organic contradiction.

⁵ For example, see Rupert Brooke's poem—"The Voice."

Such, I maintain, is the meaning of the horror of the incest-revolt. I contend that the incest-awe is unthinkable except as the objective consciousness of an inherently subjective mental mode, that incest is the mind's recoil at the rending in twain of what was before biologically simple and indissoluble—the primary, homogeneous, subjective ego. Thus there is no incest but thinking makes it so. I have said that nature abhors consciousness. I may add that nature will not tolerate the encroachment of consciousness within the sphere of that primary, affective preconscious, which pertains to the original subjective unity and identity of the organism with the maternal life-source.

In this view, then, the incest-revolt is the shock due to the impact of consciousness with its inherent self. This is the meaning of sex. This is the meaning of repression. This is the meaning of sin. Sin consists not in nakedness, but in the knowledge of nakedness—not in the genital organ, but in the fig-leaf with which it is concealed. It is to *behold* our nakedness. It is to objectivate and render conscious an inherently preconscious, subjective state of being. This is why sex is “impure.” Convention does not make it so. It is of itself impure. That is, it is not simple, not unmixed, not unalloyed.⁶

⁶ It frequently happens that young men, possessed of the popular prejudice in favor of “sex-functioning” *per se* as a requisite test and verification of “manhood,” find themselves inadequate to the act, when favored with such opportunities as are conceded by the promiscuous type of women who render themselves available for such enterprise. A conflict is the outcome. There is apprehension in regard to their “potency” and they consult a doctor.

I know that the popular view is in favor of sex-functioning as such; that in these cases it is customary to assume the existence of a pathological condition calling for immediate treatment—“treatment,” whatever its method, having in aim the patient's encouragement to successful cohabitation.

In the light of the conceptions this paper attempts to set forth I am at variance with this whole tendency of interpretation. If such individuals are impotent to satisfy the sex demand presented in such commercial arrangements, they are, in my observation, by so much the more adequate to fulfill the requirements of the larger and deeper affiliations based upon the permanent unions of love.

Even a so technically skilled psychoanalyst as Ferenzci (Ferenzci, Contributions to Psychoanalysis, p. 19) and a so faithful adherent of Freud as he to the contrary notwithstanding, I cannot but feel that a psychoanalysis is of a very shallow and short-sighted order that fails to recognize, in this situation, upon which side lies the alternative of health and upon which that of pathology, and that does not assist the more constructive, conservative, integrative process that is shown in the individual's instinctive repudiation of

I repeat, incest is not forbidden, it forbids itself. It is the protest of our organic morality. Its prohibition is inherent. It is primary and biological.

Let us look at the testimony of the folk unconscious, as recorded in history, in literature, in religion, and in language. The Biblical usage "to know a woman" means to have sexual intercourse with her, and there is the legal term "to have carnal knowledge of a woman." Moreover it is the highest commendation of virtue to say that a person is "innocent," but though this word means "not guilty," if we inquire into the real implication of the term, we find that what is actually conveyed by it is "lack of worldly knowledge." That is, we are identifying virtue with ignorance, we are convicting knowledge of sin. If we search for the genesis of sin—if we trace sin to its psychobiological source, we find that this usage is borne out by the facts connected with the origin of the moral sentiment, as of course it must be, for the language of man cannot be else than the expression of the mental biology of man.

No better proof is to be found for the psychobiological identity of knowledge and sin than in the sources of philology. Through a comparative study of language we find that the word "sin" traces its origin to Latin, Gothic and Anglo-Saxon roots which signify "truth." The Gothic word "sunja" from which the word "sin" is etymologically derivable means "truth." "Sin" is also related to the Anglo-Saxon "soth" which means "sooth" or "truth." Similarly a comparison with the Latin and Icelandic forms reveals an etymological kinship between words which mean "being" or "being so" and our English word "sin." Thus we see that the psychobiological theory which relates sin with consciousness or knowledge is actually substantiated by the records of man's earliest forms of expression.

Consider too how all *knowledge* has had to struggle for advance against the universal prejudice of "sin"; how from Pliny and Galileo to Darwin and Freud the progress of knowledge has had to contend against a superstitious implication of evil. Consider how far more violent has been the outcry against the "knowledge" introduced by Freud, by reason of the direct outrage to the subjective ego which his investigations have occasioned—investigations which force the primary mind from its pleasant immanence of

these dissociated and perfunctory trade arrangements. It seems to me that in this instance the perplexed youth is *biologically* truer to form than his professional consultant.

quiescent unconsciousness into the boldly disruptive actuality of consciousness. But why this ban upon knowledge? Because knowledge is sin. Because through knowledge is begotten the *realization* of those organic reactions which constitutes sex.⁷

The fall of man consisted in his having eaten of the tree of the *knowledge* of good and evil. Here again knowledge is sin. This is what is meant by man's "original sin." Thus again the folk mind records in unmistakable symbols its intuitive realization of the inherent sin of knowledge. If we will read between the lines of the Book of Genesis the latent thoughts that underly the manifest content of this symbolic legend, we cannot fail to see the identity between the idea of sexuality and the objectivation of the primary consciousness. In Chapter II, verse 16, it is written: "And the Lord God commanded the man saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it. . . ." And again, in reference to Adam and Eve, we read: "And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed." Later, in Chapter III, verse 7, relating the consequence of the disobedience of Adam and Eve, it is said that "The eyes of them both were opened, and they knew

⁷ This inherent discrepancy in human values which identifies truth with "sin" is nowhere more blatantly shown than in the naïve inconsistencies of our public censorship of "morals."

In the theater we are presented with up-to-date "Reviews," contemporary "Passing Shows" which, as everyone knows, owe their success to the carefully conceived sexual appeal they furnish. With their hints, innuendoes, and *double entendres* these popular spectacles are made in the fullest sense "suggestive," as we say, though of what no one of course by any chance suspects.

But let some intelligent, earnest, clean-minded student of life attempt to present upon the stage a thoughtful drama of human conduct in which the reactions of life embodied in the perversities of sex are dragged from their habitual retreats and thrust openly before the public consciousness, shorn of their hypocritical cloak of respectability and pretense, and straightway a cry of protest is raised that is not silenced until the doors of the theater are closed and darkness again reigns in the playhouse and in the spiritual consciousness of its proletariat audience.

Thus while "art" productions of the genus "leg-show" are quite permissible, such presentations as Henry Arthur Jones's "Hypocrites" or Witter Bynner's "Tiger" are not to be tolerated because of their "immorality." What could afford a prettier illustration of the true, psychological significance of "immorality," of "sin"? It is precisely the forthright drama which dares to show the truth of things that is pronounced immoral. Verily sin and truth are synonymous!

that they were naked, and they sewed fig-leaves together and made themselves aprons." Again, Chapter III, verse 9, "And the Lord God called unto Adam and said unto him, Where art thou? And he said, I heard thy voice in the Garden and I was afraid because I was naked; and I hid myself. And God said, Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat?"

Essentially similar to the Hebrew tradition of the fall of man, as told in the story of Adam and Eve, is the Greek account of the fall, as related in the story of Prometheus and Pandora. In both, the Gods impose a prohibition upon just one thing. In both there is an act of transgression precisely in regard to this one command. "That is to say, the conscience of the Greeks and Jews, intent on solving the mystery of pain and death, convicted them alike of sin."⁸

This prohibition imposed upon hero or heroine against the doing of some one thing which if done will bring evil is the central theme of the folk unconscious as shown throughout the legends of mythology. In the legend of Psyche and Eros,⁹ Psyche must never see Eros. If she does, he will not return. She contrives to see him and so he is lost to her. So of Zeus and Semele. Semele is beloved of Zeus but must never ask to see him in all his godlike glory. She does ask and is withered by his glory. In the story of Orpheus and Eurydice, you remember that Orpheus can bring Eurydice back to life, if, leading her from Hades, he will refrain from turning to look at her. He turns and looks at her and loses her forever. Again, Elsa must not ask the name of Lohengrin. She does so, and he must depart. There is a like motive in the story of Pandora's box, in that of Lot's wife, in the story of Proserpine and others. In countless varieties of setting this same theme with its ever-recurring prohibition motive is presented over and over again in the allegorical symbols of the race-unconscious.

That the folk mind should be imbued with so deep a conviction of sin, as indicated by this general prohibition motive inherent in its earliest and most durable legends, must indicate some deeply biological principle within human consciousness. It seems to me that this principle is nothing else than the innate abhorrence of the primary affective sphere of consciousness toward the ruthless incursions of an alien objectivity.

⁸ The Greek Poets, by John A. Symonds.

⁹ See the charming narrative by Walter Pater in Marius, the Epicurean.

It is, I believe, from this source that has arisen the widespread perversion of the human spirit which has caused the hideous distortion of human values embodied in the repressive subterfuge and untruth of our so-called moral codes and conventions. I cannot see the expressions embodied in these reactions of the social organism as other than vicarious representations of an organic law of life—as the feeble efforts of man's immature consciousness to compensate his essential nature for the frustration and denial of his inherent life. These distortions of life represent the organic outrage to this innate principle of unity within him occasioned by the enforced encroachment of conscious objectivation upon his original spontaneous subjectivity and oneness.

Thus man's "morality"—the code of behavior that represents psychologically the zealously courted standard of conduct he designates as "normality"—is, in my view, nothing else than an expression of the neurosis of the race. It is a complex of symptoms representing the hysterical compensations of society that are precisely analogous to the compensative reactions manifested in the hysteria of the individual. As morality is essentially the pain of the neurotic due to an intuitive sense of his inadequacy to the demands of his own individual code of behavior, so morality expresses equally the pain of the social organism because of its inaptitude to the requirements of the generic social code. The "hysteria" of the one is the "normality" of the other, but in both the inherent psychological mechanism is identical—the mechanism in the one as in the other representing vicarious compensations due to the frustration of principles of organic truth. So much for the morality representative of "normality."

Among the lower animals there is no recognition of sexuality; there is no sin. There is no "morality." For they have not consciousness, they have not eaten of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. That is, consciousness has not yet ousted them from their Eden of unhallowed innocence, for the vital separation within the psyche through the birth of objective consciousness has not been imposed upon them. It is this extraneous interpolation in the consciousness of man, this innovation causing a violation of the primary mind-principle, or the essential preconscious, which I believe to be the psychological interpretation of the horror entailed in the incest-awe. "Cursed is the earth in thy work," said God to Adam. This is the universal world-tragedy, this is the conflict indigenous to the mental life, this is the doom under which man labors

because of his attainment of the knowledge of good and evil. Such in a word is the curse of life embodied in the repressed, distorted reactions constitutive of *sex* and its disguised equivalents. Hence the parable which represents the first man as an outcast—a wanderer sent forth under a life sentence of hard labor, to toil by the sweat of his brow and reap in the end a harvest of thorns and thistles. It is the allegory of the world's neurosis, the prodromal of that universal anguish popularly interpreted as life!

The ban under which sexuality is represented as sin and the consequent repression of this sphere in order to remove it from the light of acknowledgment and deny it objective recognition in consciousness is to none so evident as to the psychoanalyst, for it is within the soul of the neurotic patient that this tragic conflict has entered most deeply and with most vital consequences.

We who study the riddle of the neuroses from day to day and from hour to hour have learned at least that these disorders are essentially exaggerated states of self-consciousness, that they are due to a confusion of the subjective and the objective spheres of mind, and when we have penetrated to the innermost fastnesses of the disquieted minds of our patients—to the repressed unconscious—we find unfailingly that this conflict is synonymous with the consciousness of sex and with the horror embodied in the incest-awe.

COMPULSION AND FREEDOM: THE FANTASY OF THE WILLOW TREE

BY SMITH ELY JELLIFFE, M.D., AND LOUISE BRINK, A.B.

Freedom is synonymous with perfect health, and either denotes the goal of human striving. Both mark a return to the conception of the older etymologists, who conceived of health as the wholeness of man, which alone is perfect freedom. This is not the irresponsible liberty to do that which brings immediate pleasure or gain, unmindful of social duty or accountability, of one's relations to a society ordered toward the greatest good of the greatest whole. It is rather that freedom by which all one's powers are best directed toward progressive ends, and man has found through ages of trial and error that these are communal ends. Such freedom, bound to the social group in racial service, in reality releases man from fetters which cut him off from his fullest powers and opportunities. Contrary to a selfish liberty, it sets and keeps these powers free from that fullness of service which is creative achievement and grants him his place in the steady advance upon which the race long ago embarked.

Curtailing of freedom does not lie in external restriction and the limitation set by the differences and misunderstandings of the social group. These after all are but the stimulus and challenge to the really free soul. Fetters are rather within, self-forged, though often unwittingly so. "Oh wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" The physician is intent upon this cry as it comes daily to his ears. He knows well that the inner disease, however slightly it is sapping the strength and limiting the ability of his patient to take up the free and effective work which is abundantly at hand, or however great the inroads it makes into the inherent right of man to swing freely into the current of progressive thought and action—such disease is bondage to some inner weakness, insufficiency, ineffectualness. The psychological physician, the only one fitted to cope with this larger problem of man's adjustment to the demands of life, in which lie this freedom and health, is still more keenly aware of this question of relative freedom and bondage, which condition man's success. For this is that sort of success that manifests itself in the buoyant power of accomplishment winning its way

from one goal of activity to another. The physician sees likewise the compelling force of inner inhibitions and restraints, at least he must witness the painful results and manifestations of these, and realizes that his patient's bondage is in fact only from within. Inner psychical fetters are the only chains that really bind the spirit and interfere with health and achievement.

Obsession, compulsion, these terms are familiar in special mental conditions where freedom is markedly curtailed and acute suffering ensues. There is still failure to realize however how such inner conditions, which are thus recognized in flagrant pathological form, are dominant in still lesser form, perhaps to some degree in every human life. The knowledge and power of observation of the physician grow to include many borderland cases, and those in which only slight deviation or peculiarity marks a restriction of normal power. These are finding a wider, more comprehensively human classification, both better understanding of symptomatic manifestation and explanation for the same, and also a sympathetic comprehension of them as but differing degrees of the same struggle, endeavor and partial success, which pervade all society, all forms of activity, all varieties of life's pursuits.

The wider training and fuller initiation into such an attitude of understanding, appreciation and ability to guide to a healthy freedom, which are coming to be demanded of the physician, urge him to look about him constantly alert and receptive to all that can reveal human nature in its manifold phases. He must see these as but varying expressions of the underlying unity of striving, effort, longing, disturbed and thwarted by these inner fetters which alone constitute disease and bondage, and thus condition ineffectualness, failure and even death. The physician therefore at his daily work, in the presence of disease in its more distinctive forms, or at his recreation, where through art and beauty, gaiety and frivolity, it is still human life in its trials and errors, its successes and failures, that is depicted, is coming to wider acquaintance, keener discernment and more thorough penetration and comprehension of just these human problems. Indeed the theater, presenting as it does the artist's intuitive knowledge of the unconscious, which lies behind the scattered phenomena which we are accustomed to call the mental life of man, affords oftentimes the surest entrance into the profound regions of the human psyche. There lie the unseen fetters, and veiled in the language and setting of art, the difficulties which beset every life are revealed, while artistic skill discovers and points also the way of release out into freedom and health.

The Willow Tree is a play of such rare delicacy of treatment that superficially one might miss its excursion into these secret and often somber depths of the psychical life, did not the final sacrifice grip the inner soul with an answering response of the necessity as well as the beauty of such self-effacing devotion. What is the compulsion which has made this necessary, which silently convinces each spectator of the same unescapable demand for a supremacy of self-denial, which for the princess abounding in the joy of life ends not in freedom but in death? Why is human nature thus compelled, and freedom for one attained only by the complete vanquishment of another?

Some analysis of this "Fantasy of Old Japan" will perhaps bring a sympathetic insight into the compulsion which is at work to a greater or less extent in every psyche, preventing the complete exercise of one's powers, not always with pathological distinctiveness, but with just so much limitation, suffering and actual acute loss of power, opportunity, or life itself. Thus every life is limited. So accustomed to it has mankind been, and also so rationalized into a complacent disavowal of his own accountability toward such a state of affairs that his ages of culture, his systems of religion, his individual ethics and moralities have been based upon, upheld and interpreted in terms of inexorable fate, inscrutable providence, or an inevitable subordination of the individual to heredity and environment. Only recently has it become a matter of serious practical concern to investigate man's own individual psyche and discover and release the chains forged there, it may be by heredity and by early circumstances, but still individual fetters capable of release from their inherent compulsion. If it is possible thus to attain at least a greater freedom for a fuller life, with a greater intensity of achievement, if not an actual extension of the years of active life through such release, every insight into the heart of man should be welcomed, that truest artistic insight from the theater as not the least of these.

There is, this "Fantasy" tells us, a "wish in the heart of man," to which indeed life owes its inspiration and aspiration, but to it also its entanglements and bondage. For the way to realize the wish is not unhindered. The wish must for the sake of greater gains conform to other men, to that very society which the instinct of man has constructed about his wish to give it security and opportunity, and which therefore sets to it certain inevitable limits. This is not the bondage of compulsion, but in the nature of man, because his wish has not learned to fit the ego into the broader, social life of greater advantage, the compulsion arises out of both the effort to

realize without restraint his ego wish and the necessity of curtailing and redirecting that wish in conformity to his social, cultural position. The ego blazons forth, is rebuffed, through the very fear of itself, retreats, hedges itself round by all manner of defense, rationalization, fear, inefficiency, the wish still strong within it, but unable through the defensive fear and taboo which it has created to find its way over into that sublimation which marks the higher freedom. And it misses thus, through its self-made limitation, that increase and enlargement which the wish, spurning the early egoistic path, might have found on the more open and effective paths leading to and advancing the plane of sublimation.

Hamilton, the hero of the play, has lost his freedom. Apparently he has entered a life of easy indolence and irresponsibility. He is free from the sordid interests and futile pursuits of the restless, feverish Occident and has sunk into a manner of life which appeals to his inner nature and permits a freedom of moods and dreams, which lie close to the wish within his heart. London had rent his inner nature. His love was engaged but it had to be lived out in terms of establishment and the artificialities of motor cars and social display, the standards of creature comforts and external advantage. The woman of his choice stood for this phase of existence and felt herself impossible without these things. His nature recoiling from this superficial approach, unable to master such forms of reality and yet not willing to be enslaved by them, flees from reality itself, turning instinctively to the heart of phantasy for its escape. The Oriental languor and indolence of his remote garden retreat are concealed under a simplicity which gives them a specious justification to this man, sickened by the superficial unsatisfactoriness of the life he has left. It is a veritable toyland garden into which he has withdrawn. The seclusion of this tiny cottage in far Japan in its miniature setting, where bright flowers are blooming and small fountains trickling, is a far more fitting environment for his retirement into phantasy than the conscious acceptance of such an ideal retreat could admit. It is the unconscious child seeking peace, comfort, even the self-inflicted pain of nursing its grief and disappointment, which falls back thus easily to the arms of phantasy, to the mother image eternally hidden in the heart of man. There he dreams and dwells in the unreality of his ideal world, and there he hangs his verses upon the willow tree.

Reality however with watchful saving grace comes keen-eyed and seeks out those who have only let the immortal purpose of life be-

come obscured. Even while they dream she touches unawares, through the dreams even, the truer impulse and quickens it into response. Hamilton's verses to the rain god give the first low rumbling promise of an awakening activity, and bring their own salvation. The unconscious depths, harboring place of all the instincts and impulses of the human race, though crowded with often hindering and inhibiting emotions, affects, contain yet within them, stimulated and inspired by these same affects, the unquenchable impulse to power and self-expression, which is the creative instinct. Active impulse and conditioning affect urge him in very fact to impersonate the rain god of ancient mythology. All mythology attests to the unconscious association of the mother with the heart of the tree and her localization there. Myths of birth from the tree confront us in the legends of such remote lands and cultures as those of ancient Greece and the islands of Oceanica. That most human of the religions of antiquity, which moved the heart of ancient Egypt, devoted a solemn ceremonial to the representation of its beloved god Osiris lying among the branches of the sycamore tree to commemorate his birth from his mother Nut. Nor is there wanting similar abundant evidence of the power of the rain god over Mother Earth, the strife with the heaven god in this capacity as the son seeks to replace him, which is the concrete though unconscious struggle of each individual to find in this manner complete power and satisfaction with the mother.

This his phantasy may be his destruction, if the infantile wish controls until it overpowers him. Therefore the hard world of reality speaks opportunely in the voice of the sincere and earnest Geoffrey, warning his friend against the madness toward which this tends. This friend, however, type of blind self-defending rationalization, comes with eyes quite darkened to the reality that lies in the dream, where the undying impulse arises after all and advances to its own out of the source of pleasure phantasy. The young rain god, because he is the embodiment of the creative impulse, cannot remain satisfied with the mere dream of nearness to the mother. The phantasied prayer does not suffice; he must write out his poem, "rather good poem, too, Geoffrey, I was rather proud of it." And so in the pride of his creative effort he unconsciously rises from the mother image toward his own salvation.

It is then that the embodiment of the mother wish, renewed in the form that leads away upon the path of sublimation, comes to him

with more than the marvel of his fondest dreams. The truest presentation of the reverse of the mother-son wish, seeking to escape its chrysalis of phantasy, necessitates that the father shall bring this mother reincarnation, the younger woman made in the mother image, but herself young and fair and therefore true object for sublimation and freedom through it. It is the father heart that has given her birth, rediscovered and recreated her in the mother image, from the mother willow by his power of love. He knows full well the parent's reluctance to give her to the hand of another. Yet the "dim old eyes" looking out of the far mist of the past, this old man "five hundred years older than his son," who in his haste with the gifts of the world has made only cheap contact with reality, these eyes have the vision of the past and of the future that lies within it.

They are the eyes that look through the old tale from its farther side in the legendary past out into the need and demand of present activity and duty. His narrative of the Legend of the Princess of the Willow Tree is more than a prophecy, for it is his own soul's history and that is the eternal conflict and victory. He has felt the price of that progress which is freedom, life, the immortality of the race. With determined mastery of the trembling which marks the depth of the sacrifice demanded of the parent, aging and passing on, he recites the legend which yields to the younger man the object of his seeking, which is to be to him at the same time his salvation through the losing of itself for his freedom. Thus again the eternal paradox, which is only the never ending alternation which Jung has told us must always lie beneath life to keep it moving now and ever toward its goal of progress but with the also ever recurring rebirth from the fountain both of pleasure and of life.

Thus attained there dawns however the fulfilment of the hero's bliss. It seems supreme, complete at last, at least after he has finally made his choice between this tender woman, newborn, and the old world beyond, which once more in the person of Mary Temple directly thrusts its claims upon him. Now at last there is the freedom of enjoyment, which seems to restore to him all he had lost, or seemed to have lost because he had not really found it as yet.

His is the delight of worship of the lovely creature, father-created, yet in truth only actually brought to life because his faith in her reality exceeded the timidity of the older man, who dared not put the mystery to the test. His alone was the right in the power of the younger man to call her into being, to breathe the breath of life

—universal impregnation phantasy from the childhood of the race¹—upon the mirror which should then reflect to the woman all that her living soul might mean to the man who would thus give life to her and then take this life to himself. His was the task, moreover, of bringing her to a knowledge of the real meaning of life which was shared with another, lived not in dreams to itself alone. His masculine spirit might rejoice in its creative power and the authority which it had established over the being in his hands. Yet the perfection of this creature no less than her innocent helplessness holds him to a sense of his responsibility. The limitation of his right and power by the power of love and devotion within her redeems him from a too egoistic goal to the more perfect life of mutual adaptation and concession. Already she is winning for him a freedom from the inner compulsion which belongs to the mother fixation, which demands that all shall be directed toward the pleasure wish of the infantile egoism. A certain incest fear is also a barrier against this and sets up some of the restriction which tempers the relationship toward this embodiment of his unconscious ideal. At the same time, since it is all unconscious, it occasions an inner conflict with the desire itself, which makes the final decision toward England and duty impossible for him and compels the woman's resolution of the question by the sacrifice of herself. Who can say how much the inner compulsion, arising out of this early infantile, strongly affective attitude toward the mother infused the ardent desire to give life to this woman and appropriate her to his unsatisfied and disappointed love, and how far it compelled the growing strength and delight of this love until the sacrifice became unavoidable? Of such inner causations are our acts merely the outward and often the mystifying expressions. Freedom loses itself within the compulsion and then must be attained in the end by the path of pain and loss. If this course can be traced even so obscurely, until by such studies the hidden life shall become more plain, the development of this play, through its exquisite unfolding, will not have been in vain.

It was in the hands of Hamilton to follow the path of self-gratification and to have taught the woman that way. Instead, because there is another power than the infantile determinant, which is working toward a truer freedom, and because he has felt this truth perhaps from the ancient heart of the willow tree, he adopts a

¹ See F. L. Wells: *A Summary of Material on the Topical Community of Primitive and Pathological Symbols*. *PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol. IV, No. 1, January, 1917, pp. 55-57.

different course. The child that merely sinks back upon the mother's breast there to have every wish fulfilled will only seek that which pleases as the moment's toy. The mother image in its actual truth is forgotten; in its place is substituted the so-called freedom of having returned to the place where wishes come true, as the unreasoning child conceives wishes and seizes after their fulfilment. The truth which the freed spirit within us seeks and finds is other than this and toward this Hamilton turns. He has found that which reality, accepted with the straightforward spirit of the adult attitude, will reveal to all, but which is withheld from the autoerotic self-seeker. This is the recurrent message of the play which opens up the path of freedom and health.

The lovers, their faces thus set toward the freedom of reality, enter upon a life of mutual bliss, but of mutual service likewise, to be finally consummated only when the price of freedom has been paid. Knowledge and experience dawn at first through the unselfish consideration and self-restraint of the lover, often puzzled and awed before the questioning innocence and complete trust of the virgin woman before him. The double compelling forces are however at work. On the one hand, even in his chaste restraint toward the object of his care, he is building up more strongly upon this new object the old infantile sense of rest and peace and self-absorbed enjoyment of its love; on the other hand, within her is the racial depth of the mother soul, tending likewise doubtless toward the pleasure goal, but yet with an ultimate truth and strength which forbids the losing of the creative goal, and wins it finally by its supreme act. The heart of the willow tree, though ages old, has the immortal power of revivification and rebirth for itself and the being upon whom it bestows its love. It is old and yet fresh and young and untried.

This pretty world of delight, of which she will take all as her gift, which must be filled only with bright birds and pleasure and harmlessness, is hers by right merely of claim upon her hero's love. In it she may perhaps employ the feminine devices of pouting jealousy, the aid of personal adornment, whatever will keep her in playful touch with that which she counts her own. She will defend herself by shutting her thoughts to the time when she must be old and ugly and unattractive. The images and symbols, means of pleasure and enjoyment, are at hand to be cherished and used. She cannot accept the fish as the coarse mercenary dealer offers it nor value the birds and crickets according to their market price. Pleas-

ure for her must be a free and happy gift. Buying and selling it in terms of gain are not to be conceived. Value for value is a part of the lesson to be learned but never that perversity of sacred gifts which makes of the emblems of love objects of barter and gross nutriment. So at any rate may be interpreted the touch of appreciation she puts upon these things, in the light of the unconscious struggle which is manifest in the effort to discover and use life aright. If we could value better and more truly the symbols which are to the unconscious in fable, legend and individual dream, expressions and opportunities of the love life and its creative power, we too might learn the unsatisfactoriness and the disease-producing power, the loss of freedom in the abuse of these possessions. The symbolization which finds itself in these things is too readily denied and thus a cultural prudishness fails to see the inner value for which these stand. This dainty personification of the ancient heart of things instinctively and intuitively proceeds in her choice and valuation of them straight to their true inner worth.

The fish therefore must be consigned not to the kitchen but to a home among the free swimming goldfish in the pool and birds and cricket must sing and rejoice in happy freedom, such as that in which she herself lives. Yet she knows none the less instinctively the value of the masculine serpent god, god of comfort in the home, to whom she prays for the rest of her lord by night and to whom she finally entrusts him for his care when the time of her departure comes. It is her love that spreads for Hamilton "that soft feathered cushion of his" for his repose. She is hurt also by the vehemence of his love and yet shyly, smilingly proffers her acknowledgment that she likes being hurt by him. He also must reveal at her question love's realities, with that awe of the greatness of love that knows self-restraint and asks reverently whether he has the right to make the path to her across the snow, to her the butterfly more white than the snows of Fuji-yama against which it flies.

Of such stuff not dreams alone are made but of such concrete elements, touched here with a beauty surpassing in delicacy yet exquisitely frank, does love consist, and through such concrete elements, hidden and revealed in the symbolism, does love in its creative mission find expression. They are the forms through which is made known the "wish" which is "the most real thing in the heart of man." Man has grown suspicious of the wish striving thus to make itself known and, frightened, has sought to crowd these things out of sight, deny their meaning and value, until such repres-

sion has succeeded outwardly in bringing them to ill favor and within in forming the fettering of the emotional life and its compulsive direction of psychic energy into symptomatic paths, through which the repressed factors secure a blind escape. Thus disguised and not understood they yet control external conscious life but in doing so curtail its freedom and limit the higher expenditure of energy in perfect health. These concrete factors are too real, too vital to remain quietly in the heart of man. The artist has dared again and again to bring them forth, touching them gently, freeing them through beauty, and so granting to himself and to those who look upon and receive his work a corresponding freedom from the disturbance and upheaval which follow upon such repression and misdirection of these desires and strivings. He in this way opens out the path to health in the right use of them.

Not the least of the mission of this charming fantasy, therefore, lies in the placing thus beautifully and wholesomely into our hands some of the images and symbols with which the eternal wish in the heart of man must busy itself. The delicate handling of these points the way to the sublimation, which comes not through repression but through the artistic and thus transformed use of these things. Their higher as well as their lower values are brought to attention, each in its place and each in its own true worth and beauty. Like the beliefs of old Japan to faithful, simple-hearted Nogo, the stories and the language of the unconscious "make 'fraid, make shiver." We have become so frightened over them, in the long-continued effort to get away from their little understood and acknowledged power and value, that we have lost sight of them as very definite pathways which our own human race has laid down out of the things of "beauty and eternity," and as the way which leads back again to attain the knowledge which is mastery and serviceable control. A clearer acceptance of them is sure release from the compulsion to dark and hidden courses of feeling and action, in which freedom is lost.

The profoundly moving message of the play lies however in the larger synthesis which embraces and outreaches the wish in the heart of man. It takes these lesser elements, the incomplete language of the wish, and it brings them to conscious fulfilment. Still more it lifts them through the larger purpose of the wish, as it exalts and transforms that wish, up to the higher attainment of racial service which society requires. Pleasant indeed is it for the lovers, islanded in their romantic dream world founded upon the heart of

things, to play and delight in these verities of love. Something deeper nevertheless must be preparing, through which they shall really discover and test the ultimate depths upon which love bases its creative right to exist and the heights of service toward which its creative impulse must soar. The truth and strength of the spirit of love and sacrifice must respond to the clarion call of reality. The eternal heart must meet the demand to lose all, or refuse and seek only the immediate pleasure. Before the crucial test the man stands in bewilderment. His way is not clear, he is not free. Externally he is not free, for he has a responsibility toward the dainty creature whom he has summoned from the unknown for his own pure delight. Is it the mother image which he has unconsciously sought and which now holds him, through its very helplessness and dependence, in the form in which he has known it, standing as the "terrible mother," which Jung discovers in mythology and in individual struggle, the unconscious image from which it is impossible to break away? Is thus the path of freedom for service and achievement barred, one's conscious purpose and wish rendered unattainable? Perhaps to Hamilton the return to the very heart of the ancient willow was merely the return to the unconscious child wish. Holding now the mother image, which his desire has recalled from the ancient soul of the race, it instead holds him and all freedom is lost. He is powerless before even the call to duty for his "England and George King." Action, to which the courage of his English friends has been roused, is no more possible to him than it is to the compulsive neurotic reduced through the opposing forces of his inner conflict to a helpless inactivity.

One thing however is unknown to him. He is far from an actual understanding of the inner source and meaning of his conflict and his inability to desert this woman whom he has made his, to whom indeed his responsibility, since he has called her into being, is clear. Scarcely better knowledge has he of the depth and reality of the world-old mother soul. Not so lightly perhaps would he have left his frail treasure that last evening to the power of her own thoughts and convictions, had he been able to penetrate beneath the blithesome, playful attitude of joyous living which had been his to know. The woman's heart too, the eternal mother heart, attains to but one way of freedom. Whether it is freedom for itself or for the soul committed by love to her charge, it is found by the way of sacrifice. Who can say, in the present mere dawning of understanding and interpretation of the intricacy of unconscious motivation,

which underlies conscious observed activity, and of the conflicts waged beneath the surface, the extent of the unconscious inhibitions and constraints? Here too the same compulsion in the struggle between the pleasure wish on the one hand and the upward striving of the eternal wish on the other throw about the mother soul the fetters which destroy the action of perfect freedom. The effort to overcome, to master the baser desires, those which lead back to rest and the indolence of inactive peace, the effort to force on the creative urge defeats its own end and cuts off life itself. It is not however futile. The defeat comes along the upward path of striving and is therefore only apparent. The sacrifice is not in vain. It is one of those compromise results with which the race in its imperfection and insufficiency has for the time to be content. It is the price too often of its greater gain, but the price is willingly paid and for it the world obtains progress, stimulus to further endeavor, immortality. The mother heart is to man the source and the symbol of all pleasure and delight and comfort. It is also the eternal source of the power which urges man, whether he knows it or not, onward to duty and activity, as Hamilton was driven from the peace of the garden home to face reality and find there at last not only his duty but the consummation of his joy. Such was the intimation in the completeness of the final sacrifice of the mother heart, which sent him to duty, to wife and the children which she had never had. True to the deepest psychological meaning of the eternal mother heart, the heart which was in the willow tree, not only the bliss of pleasure was there for the child man, but it is the source to him of rebirth, from which he goes into the world of activity there to find useful work and the sublimation of the mother love, which alone belongs to adult reality.

The world shouts to the hero who goes forth on such a path. It boasts for him of glory, honor, duty. This spirit which is in the mother soul, on the contrary, this victory which is the steady advance of the race, moves in silence and alone. The travail of a rebirth, in whatever man or woman it takes place, is a victory in the loneliness of an inner struggle, its own Gethsemane. Happy if there is at hand the faithfulness of some humble Nogo, as there was for the Princess, who, though sobbing with the abandon of a simple soul, would yet lay the axe to the root of the tree. The shadow of the sacrifice transfigures even him as he too enters into its power. No threat of death or punishment to himself or to his honored parent can prevail upon him to bring the sacrifice to pass. But when he

recognizes the claim of something within even him, which belongs to the life of the race, he complies. All protest is stilled, and unflinchingly, uncompromisingly the task is performed. The tree on whose standing the life of the princess depends is hewn down.

There is a peculiar fitness in the portrayal of this drama of life in this kingdom of Old Japan. It is a land externally of peace and delight. There is an outward perfection of cleanliness and trimness and scrupulous care, which adds to the charm of its beauty. A softness and delicacy and prettiness of nature are its own characteristics. Its artists reproduce it and even the common people are touched with its grace and flit about their daily pursuits with an almost butterfly fancifulness and freedom of light and carefree movement. Dress and manner and smiling face, even the ceaseless slip of their sandaled feet or the click of their wooden clogs, all are expressive of the simple playful character which lies upon the surface. Yet a greater power makes itself manifest in their national history and closer knowledge of their daily lives reveals also the care and weariness, poverty, discontent, strife beneath this pleasant exterior. Thus also in their pretty land do the frequent earthquakes and actively eruptive volcanoes, which have produced the scarred and jagged mountain peaks, speak of a greater energy beneath the surface, which struggles to break forth and having no guidance or control works destruction and ruin.

Such forces, however, in the human psyche are capable of understanding and control, if man becomes willing to look within. To such an insight this "Fantasy of Old Japan" is directed. It grants more than a hint of the forces of desire which arise there, meet and entangle one another and hinder the useful constructive discharge of these forces. It points the way to salvation through sacrifice, by which freedom from this inner restraint and compulsion is attained. It offers far more than this, however, to the thoughtful investigator who is seeking a fuller freedom for man, which will assure to him a more perfect health, in which attainment can be won by a more comprehensive understanding of these hidden things and a greater freedom of constructive use and creative activity result. This is a goal to be won in our present ignorance and insufficiency by this path of sacrifice, but it opens a way of fuller knowledge of the inner nature, which will find rather a more liberal exercise of all its faculties toward a higher, more thoroughly racial service in a more complete sublimation. It gives promise that this may in time supplant the present curtailment and loss of certain powers that

others entangled with them in the little understood desires shall become free. Sacrifice has always been recognized as the "law of service to the whole"; sacrifice must itself however be freed to become more thoroughly constructive in a synthesis and upward direction of these powers, not in the destructive cutting off of opportunity and energy which our present ignorance of the hidden conflicting psychic forces necessitates.

"So long as we are blindly and ignorantly rolled about by the forces of our nature," Matthew Arnold has said, "their contradiction baffles us and lames us; so soon as we have clearly discerned what they are, and begun to apply to them a law of measure, control, and guidance, they may be made to work for our good and to carry us forward." In knowledge of these forces lies individual and social health, that ideal of social health in which men and women are no longer struggling at cross purposes, but united in mutual and ever widening achievement. The drama, by each appeal to look into the inner center of these forces, advances by so much our knowledge and understanding. For by its beauty it attracts to the heart of things, by its truth it convinces of the reality found there.

A CASE OF CHILDHOOD CONFLICTS WITH PROMINENT REFERENCE TO THE URINARY SYSTEM; WITH SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON URINARY SYMPTOMS IN THE PSYCHONEUROSES AND PSYCHOSES¹

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Beneath the stream of the adult life childhood undercurrents flow on steadily, not infrequently betraying their presence by eddies on the surface; of recent years the ever-widening recognition of this principle has been a prominent feature of psychopathological research. To detect these undercurrents, to give its due value to each delicate component force in the adult life is a task requiring a nice discrimination. The validity of the conclusions in the individual case can only be established by means of a wide corroborative material, and to those unfamiliar with this material the conclusions often seem arbitrary; this explains in part the scepticism shown with regard to many of the results derived from the intensive study of the psychoneuroses in the adult. A genetic psychology, based on the more profound insight into the mechanisms of the adult psychoneuroses, must be supported by the direct study of normal and of neurotic children. An example of such a study is the well-known communication of Freud on the phobia of five-year-old Hans.²

This study, however, loses much of its value owing to the indiscreet questioning of the father and the over-refined interpretations of Freud; in order to be convincing, data must be obtained more spontaneously and must not require such an elaborate interpretation.

The aim of the present communication is to present the case of a girl, who was studied from the age of seven to the age of eleven at the dispensary; at the end of that period she spontaneously gave the key to her symptoms, the meaning of which had been long sus-

¹ Read before the New York Psychiatric Society, January 2, 1918.

² Analyse der Phobie eines fünfjährigen Knaben. Mitgeteilt von Sigm. Freud. *Jahrb. f. psychoan. u. psychopath. Forsch.* Bd. I. Abstracted in *THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol. III, No. 1 (January, 1916).

pected. At first the most prominent symptom was an obsessive questioning, which seemed to indicate an intense curiosity which did not dare to seek direct satisfaction; later her unusual interest in water and in the plumber's sphere attracted attention, and this was apparently the indirect expression of her interest in her own urinary apparatus. Her extraordinary interest in the urinary apparatus was accompanied by various anomalies of urination. At last she told naïvely how she derived pleasure from her urinary behavior, and in this pleasure there was a sexual as well as a urinary component.

The frank admission of the pleasurable nature of the urinary activity in this case throws light on many cases with urinary symptoms in childhood; *enuresis diurna* or *nocturna* may be due not to any physiological inferiority but to the fact that it yields a certain pleasure. The pleasure, it is true, may not be acknowledged nor even clearly realized by the child. In so far as *enuresis nocturna* is the expression of the attainment of such a pleasure during sleep, it may be compared to the later nocturnal pollution related to the sexual system; in both cases there may be no conscious conception of a desired pleasure as goal. It is quite unwarranted to generalize the above statement and to claim that *enuresis nocturna* is always the equivalent of a pollution; such unwarranted generalization has done much to discredit the work of Freud and his pupils.

The value of the present case is not confined to the light it throws on urinary symptoms in childhood; it also contributes to the understanding of urinary references and symptoms in the adult psychoses and psychoneuroses. In this case during the period of childhood we see certain trends expressed, not altogether frankly, but in a much less disguised and complicated form than is usual in later life. What in later life is apt to be represented by obscure undercurrents is here disclosed in the open at the source.

To illustrate the complicated form in which these same elements may present themselves in adult life, a few cases chosen almost at random may be quoted; these cases taken along with that of the seven-year-old girl show how the study of the child and that of the adult supplement each other.

The first case gives an example of a very complex setting for the urinary symptoms; the patient presented an excitement more schizophrenic than manic in type. On one occasion he drank his urine and said it was the spirit of his mother; he explained that he urinated in bed by saying that he did it to purify himself. These

reactions are only intelligible in the light of the immature phantasies of the child, persisting at the subconscious level, and breaking through to the conscious level in the adult behavior.

In a second patient, a psychoneurotic with sadistic obsessions, we meet the same elements, the drinking of the urine and the reference to the mother, in the setting of a dream, which was one of a series of urinary dreams. The dream was as follows: "I am in a cave, there are enormous blocks of ice of all dimensions, in an angle one of these blocks melts, which produces a little cascade of water (this calls up a memory of my mother urinating in a neighboring room)—my mother is in the dream—at the end I find I have my mouth full of icicles and of fish-bones—at the slightest movement I feel that all that is going to descend and choke me—my mother comes to my help and, in drawing these objects out of my mouth, she also draws a sea-anemone which was fixed on my tongue and was sucking me." This patient as a boy had the idea that in coitus the woman drinks the urine of the man; he remembered going on his hands and knees to urinate in imitation of a horse; his sadistic obsessions were closely related to his morbid delight at an early age in seeing coachmen whip the forelegs of horses. These data recall Freud's five-year old Hans with his phobia of horses.

A young woman, during a schizophrenic excitement, both in her utterances and in her acts laid great stress on the same elements, and these utterances and acts evidently symbolized her sexual conflicts and ruminations. At times she retained her urine: "I thought I was hurting my own family when I did that (*i. e.*, urinated) and I refused to do it three or four times." She interpreted catheterization as a sexual assault, "the gay young nurses came in to put me in the family way, have a baby, not to urinate." She several times tried to drink her urine; when told to urinate she said: "Do you mean it literally? I take these things symbolically. . . . I felt that I was passing the water of the world and unless I drank it, I was making other people drink it. . . . I'm handing my urine to my mother" (*cf.* the first patient drinking urine, the spirit of his mother; and the icicles in the mouth of the dreamer). The sexual symbolism of urination was obvious; she said to the physician, "if you make water in my mouth I will drink it." She claimed that in early life, during perverse sexual relations, a relative had asked her to urinate in his mouth; it is possible that this was a phantasy, but it indicated how closely urination and drinking urine were associated in her mind with sexual intercourse.

In the above cases the urinary behavior and the references to urination show its symbolic value, its significance as a sexual activity; but the symbolism in these cases does not seem to develop because urination is in itself a source of gratification nor because it is directly influenced by or influences the sexual function. These cases show that urination may symbolize sexual intercourse for other reasons than because the activity of one system can directly excite the activity of the other system. The symbolism is here not explained by the frequent conjoined activity of the two systems, it does not arise in the same manner as a conditioned reflex; it is based rather on the similarity of the two functions, and on the anatomical "final common path." The child conceives the mysterious unknown in the only terms familiar to him, in terms of urination. This childhood substitution of one system for the other has to be kept in mind in interpreting urinary symptoms in the psychoses, whether the symptoms be incontinence or retention, odd urinary habits or obscure references to urine and urination. The symbolism may not be specifically related to the sexual system; the schizophrenic patient, who wets the bed and claims to be a baby, utilizes the urinary symptom as a symbol of that stage of existence to which she would like to regress in the face of adult difficulties. Even here, it is true, the symptom may be determined in part by the actual gratification derived from urination, and in part by the persistence into adult life of the early immature conception of sexual activity.

The satisfaction yielded by urination is in some cases considerable, as is shown in our seven-year-old patient and in the case of a woman reported by Havelock Ellis.³ In such cases the urinary system has a direct importance as a source of pleasurable sensations, and not merely a value borrowed from the sexual system. There is no warrant for regarding this urinary satisfaction as essentially of sexual nature, although the satisfaction derived from the two systems is often inextricably blended. More than one somatic function yields its own special satisfaction, and to insist on reducing the latter in every case to the common denominator of sex has for its only sanction an unsupported dogma.⁴

³ The Relation of Erotic Dreams to Vesical Dreams, *Journ. Abn. Psych.*, Vol. VIII, p. 137.

⁴ It is to be regretted that White in his recent work on *The Principles of Mental Hygiene* subscribes to this dogma, which runs counter to common-sense and the most obvious biological facts: "That all pleasure founds in the last analysis in sex pleasure is an hypothesis forced upon the analyst by his daily experience" (p. 299).

In the case reported by Ellis the extent to which bladder distension and urination may be pleasurable is strikingly shown. The subject of his communication, a woman of thirty-five, wrote as follows: "A slightly distended bladder is always exciting and the act of relieving it is perhaps more of a pleasure than the discharge of any other usual function."

She stated that in girlhood she had indulged in phantasies of urinary orgies; "had I not, at a fairly early age, fallen in love and led thereafter a normal sexual life, I might have cultivated the art of urination for its own sake." The presence of a sexual element in the satisfaction is certainly indicated, but at the same time urination here seems to have an independent value as a source of pleasure; this fact differentiates such a case from the previous cases where the urination derived its main importance from associative material.

In a third group of cases the urinary symptoms are based on the close relationship which exists between the activity of the two functions, owing to which excitement in one system tends to irradiate into the other. An example of this is furnished by a patient of Freud,⁵ a young woman, who had an obsessive fear of incontinence of urine; the basis of this fear was an experience when she was under some sexual tension, accompanied by a desire to urinate. The obsessive fear which developed omitted the sexual reference and was limited to the urinary system.

The reaction to the conjoined urinary and sexual experience may be simpler than in the above case. Thus a teacher, thirty-one years of age, complained of a constant desire to urinate and laid so much stress on the urinary symptom that her physician diagnosed cystitis; the symptom had developed, however, when she was much distressed by erotic feelings, by "convulsions" in the vagina, which were related to erotic reveries. Here there was no defence in the way of a phobia, but a direct appeal for medical help with reticence as to the sexual element in the situation.

The urinary symptoms may be utilized not for the solution of internal conflicts, but in order to meet a definite external situation. Urinary symptoms may be thus utilized by married women, whose attitude toward adult responsibilities is immature, who have difficulty in assimilating normal sexual activity, and to whom marital relations are more or less distasteful. The patient may at the

⁵ Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre aus den Jahren 1893-1906. S. Freud, 2^e Auflage, p. 87.

same time complain of sexual symptoms; on the other hand no reference may be made to the sexual system, or it may be referred to only incidentally.

A young married woman complained of vaginal sensations, of an uneasy burning feeling, which made her sleepless; she complained of frequent urination and of burning on urination. She used douches as a treatment for the vaginal sensations. For many years there had been dyspareunia and for more than a year marital relations had been practically eliminated. The patient, immature and egocentric, had accepted the married state without any of its responsibilities, and for some time had been indifferent if not antagonistic to her husband. The gynecological examination disclosed no local cause for either the dyspareunia or the urinary symptoms; the urine showed no abnormal constituents.

In other cases where the marital situation is unsatisfactory there may not be such a frank expression of the dysharmony in the sexual sphere, the nervous invalidism may chiefly express itself in urinary complaints. A woman of twenty-eight, one year after marriage, felt a sudden pressure on the bladder with a desire to urinate. From this time on she complained of pain over the bladder, of frequent urination and the passage of large quantities of urine; the polyuria may have been due to her drinking a superfluous amount of water, as in many cases of polyuria in neurotic patients. As to the origin of the other urinary symptoms the patient stated that during the first year of married life sexual intercourse (*coitus interruptus*) would cause frequent urination lasting for a day or two, associated with a feeling of pressure on the bladder. Owing to these symptoms marital relations had been discontinued after the first year of married life; during the following four years the patient lived an invalid life, she made the usual medical pilgrimage, was operated on for retroversion of the uterus with no relief of the symptoms, underwent prolonged orthopedic treatment for a non-existent tuberculosis of the spine. There was no gynecological condition to account for the symptoms; the urine showed no abnormal constituents. The patient was extremely prudish, had married to get relief from drudgery in a mill, disliked sexual intercourse ("if he wants that, he can get somebody else"), resented the idea of having children.

For four years on the basis of her urinary symptoms she had gained immunity from marital relations. In this case the determination of the urinary symptoms, which were utilized for the evasion

of marital responsibilities, was not a complex associative process, but the current development of urinary discomfort immediately following sexual relations. It is not impossible that in this case the patient derived a certain amount of satisfaction from urination, that this function was in her associated with unusual gratification as in the case of Ellis, and that it played a substitutive rôle of a positive nature as well as being utilized in her evasion of marital responsibilities.

The genesis of the urinary symptoms is less clear in the following case, where retention of urine developed in a setting similar to that of the previous case. The patient, a woman of thirty-four, had the same attitude towards the sexual life as the previous patient; she looked upon sexual intercourse as "the most demoralizing thing that ever happened," "if a home is peaceable that's enough without kissing and caressing"; she thought it degrading to have a large family.

After the sudden development of retention with no obvious cause the patient had to be catheterized by her physician twice daily for many months; various diagnoses were made, "stricture of the urethra," "tumor of the urethra," "ulcerated bladder," but competent gynecologists found no basis for these diagnoses, the local condition being normal. Treatment by drugs, electricity, and mechanical dilatation had been of no avail; it had, however, necessitated her absence from her husband, and thus been of advantage to her.

In this case, as in the previous one, the question may be raised in how far the urinary symptom itself was a source of direct satisfaction; in the case to be reported distension of the bladder was a source of agreeable feelings to the child. The rôle of the catheterization is also significant, for the utterances of the schizophrenic patient referred to above show the possible sexual meaning of this act.

From the cases thus summarily reported it is already apparent that in the adult psychoses and psychoneuroses urinary symptoms may be of considerable importance, and their development a matter of interest; this interest leads one to scrutinize carefully anomalies of urinary behavior in childhood to see whether they may throw light on the problems of the adult. In view of the above considerations it seemed advisable to report in detail the following clinical history, which is an unusually convincing document.

The patient, Sally M., a girl of seven, was first seen in May,

1913; for four years she kept in touch with the dispensary. It was only after four years that in an interview she spontaneously gave the key to her behavior. During this period the child had been observed in frequent interviews; her actions and utterances had been noted; no attempt was made to place before her the physician's interpretation of her symptoms, nor to elicit from her confirmation of the interpretation.

From the point of view of treatment the aim was to give her at the hospital an atmosphere in which she could talk freely about anything of interest to her, no matter what the topic might be. This was considered to be very desirable in view of the strict repressive atmosphere of the home. The father, an extremely earnest man, took his religious beliefs so seriously that he would not ride on a trolley car on Sundays; he had been brought up in a Methodist community where the sexes at church were seated apart. He had been much distressed by the patient, when at the age of four she refused to say her prayers. He had conscientious objections to the patient being taught dancing. The mother was strictly conventional, she reproached herself on one occasion for not having whipped her two-year-old boy who had gleefully referred to hearing his sister in the toilet. In such an atmosphere a child can not easily ask questions about many topics in which interest is extreme, and the curiosity which is balked with regard to tabooed subjects frequently manifests itself in a less direct manner. Thus one of the most striking characteristics of the child was her insistent questioning, which was often without rhyme or reason. She would ask her mother about self-evident affairs, *e. g.*, "Am I still sitting at the table", and in her visits to the hospital she was a peripatetic point of interrogation. She was brought for advice partly on account of this peculiarity, but also because she showed general nervousness, was jerky in her movements, and grimaced a little. The teacher had been struck by her odd behavior at school; she ran about the room, could not remember her place in class, staggered a little and seemed to limp intentionally; she had, however, soon corrected her gait, her school work was good, many of her questions were those of a precocious child, *e. g.*, coming in to school she said: "My hands are very cold; if I rub them would that restore the circulation of the blood?" The following brief account of her development was gleaned from the mother's statements: In her early development she had been rather backward; an eight months child, she began to walk at two, to talk at three years. As an infant she did not

notice things until she was a year old; she clung to her bottle for an unusually long period (over two years of age), and then had to be fed, would not chew nor put anything in her mouth. She seldom played with anything, appeared to be very timid. When she began to talk at three, she began on sentences and "rattled right off." Her mother thought she had always been a great questioner. From a very early age her gait was said to have been peculiar. Bed-wetting was only occasional; she was very stubborn and wilful. She was nervous and peculiar in her actions and appearance, and during the past year had developed a marked twitching of the face, hands and fingers.

Physical examination (Harriet Lane Home) disclosed choreiform movements and a refractive disorder for which glasses were prescribed; slight anemia and malnutrition; tonsils slightly enlarged. Heart and lungs normal.

Standard intelligence tests could not be applied, as she would answer, "I don't want to think that." She was judged to be of normal intelligence.

In the second interview (June 4, 1913) the patient showed the same general characteristics as in the first interview. She was fidgety and inattentive, answered questions as if she were very stupid; she pretended that she did not know the nature of the building, nor the occupation of the physician. She referred to a relative, Cousin Ned, and said "Cousin Ned is 100." In this attitude of pretended stupidity we may perhaps see a sort of game, the patient amusing herself at the physician's expense, teasing him or coquetting with him.

The patient gave fragments of her dreams but no associations to these fragments were obtained.

In one dream she was at Cousin Ned's place, Eleanor was there. The patient spent every summer at Cousin Ned's; there she played with Eleanor; and four years later the patient is to tell the physician spontaneously of the sexual games in which Eleanor, the patient and her young brother joined in the country (vid. note June 9, 1917). Whether she and Eleanor had indulged in any such practices previous to the dream was not known.

The utterances of the patient were bizarre and it was not very easy to interpret their significance. For instance she referred to a mosquito having scared her; she said that the sound of the elevator was like a mosquito; "a mosquito climbs up on you," it sings on top of her mother.

In discussing Cousin Ned's place she referred to a young employee who imitated a dog and a cat; she liked to imitate animals; she did not like to walk the way she used to, "a calf walks that way." The peculiar gait at school may have been partly determined by her experiences in the country.

In this early interview her attitude to the questions of the physician was already interesting; "mother, when you answer that doctor, do you answer him right? Must I answer him right, too?" We shall see later how interested she is in the physician and his methods, how she enjoys quibbling, how she seems to pique his interest, and how finally she asks him to take a much more intimate interest in her. In view of her questions about giving correct answers, she was asked "Who tells you not to tell?" She answered, "Martha" (a cousin in the suburbs whom she occasionally visits). These answers were already rather suggestive of concealment of some topics, and a coquetting with the question of becoming quite frank.

In the following interview (July 6) she soon broaches the topic of the rôle of the physician. "Are you going to ask me questions?" (Yes, will you tell me the truth?) "I ought to tell the truth; mother, let's hurry through." "Must I tell you? Must I tell you now? When we go home? Is mother listening?" Her mother leaves the room; Sally shows no change in her general attitude, and does not talk any more freely than in her mother's presence. She tells of several playmates; refers to James (12), Susie (8), and Martha (8), whom she had already referred to in the last interview as having told her not to tell (what?). They played together in a daisy field; James and Susie played "chicken." "I and Martha watch them. Must I tell everything?" (This hesitation suggests that there is something forbidden in these games; perhaps it is this that Martha has forbidden her to tell.)

During the interview the patient was fidgety and mischievous, ran around the room in a helter-skelter way, regardless of the presence of any one. She paid no heed to her mother. Although her mother insisted that the child did not know anything, the latter had a very "knowing" appearance and appeared to be extremely "wise."

During this period the patient had been very stubborn at school, she would not repeat 7 or 17; she had been punished on three occasions.

At the next visit to the dispensary (June 13), on entering the room she said: "Am I going to tell you something?" She behaved

in the same wilful way as usual; she said that she wanted to learn how to make baskets, having seen other patients doing this. In reference to the topic of the last interview, the games played with the other children, she said "Am I going to tell you how Martha played chicken?" "She played naughty, she played with James."

The patient was next seen in November; she seemed to have better muscular control. She still showed the same tendency to ask questions, but not so incessantly.

In the next interview (Jan. 17, 1914) the patient showed distinctly coquettish behavior; some of her utterances were difficult to explain. She harped on getting fat; "Sam (brother) is fat;" she asked the physician to make her "fat by telephone"; "doctors make girls fat." It was impossible to mistake the coquetry in her behavior; she sent the others (the social service worker and a physician) out of the room and shut the door, then asked her own physician to attend to her. Later when the physician talked to a colleague who came in, the patient ran out, only came back under protest and then ran out again. She wanted the physician to find how heavy she was, asked him to lift her up: "Martha has been made fat—by telephone." This proposal to the physician is an early indication of the same trend which later becomes much clearer when she asks the physician to examine her down below, in order that she may have sexual satisfaction (June 9, 1917). During the interviews of the following three years this topic recurs again and again; she wishes the physician to make a physical examination, she does not wish his rôle to be confined to questioning. Some of her rather impatient sparring with the physician's questions may indicate her dissatisfaction with his failure to play the rôle she wants him to play. It is interesting to note that this is her conception of the physician's rôle; she conceives his relation with his patients to be very intimate.

A few weeks later the patient spent one week in the hospital for observation. On the road there she asked her companion "Will I get fat at the hospital?" The recurrence of this topic suggests some important determinant; it may be in relationship to childish ruminations about pregnancy. In an interview at supper time she told the physician to go away, said she was scared of him; she took her supper in a very untidy way, let custard fall on the floor, laughed raucously. She exposed herself as she leaned far over the bed in an apparently meaningless way (exhibitionism). She said the physician was a "gobbler" because he said "gobble" to her in

the "other Hopkins" (dispensary); no basis for this statement could be found. Two weeks later, when questioned about her sleeplessness, the patient said that she did not try to go to sleep, that she tried to keep awake.

In an interview in June, with the other physicians present, she was silent. She then lay on the lounge with her legs in the air (exhibitionism). During the first half of 1914 she made monthly visits to the dispensary and was allowed to play about with the toys there; frequently no special interview was given, as the aim was to let her feel at home in the medical environment, to study her reactions and to discuss any problems she cared to bring up. Her play was as a rule ungainly and very crude; her attitude was extremely variable. No notes were made of several of these visits, but it was about this time that she asked the physician about urination; she wanted to know where the water came from and was told that it came from the bladder; she asked how it got into the bladder and was told that it came from the kidney. The importance of this topic to the patient will later become clear. During the spring her school record was excellent; her teacher found her quiet and attentive; she was much less excitable than during the winter. In the summer she spent a week at a children's camp; there she was at first excited and overactive, but soon settled down.

On January 15, 1915, she was again seen at the dispensary. On the road to the hospital with the social service worker she recalled innumerable incidents and conversations of the previous winter. When seen in the dispensary her behavior as she played around and during the interview showed decided improvement; she was less boisterous, there was less general restlessness; she had an occasional barking cough and there was considerable grimacing.

She asked superfluous questions as in previous interviews and in the following notes one sees a tendency to coquet and to spar with the physician. "Is this Phipps (Of course she knows this)? Is this nice play (She is at the sand-pile)? You won't call me to talk to you, will you? ("Not if you don't want to.") I mightn't want to. ("Why?") Because this is nice fun—where do you get the ink from? (The mechanism of the fountain pen is explained.) And does it come down every time you need it? Suppose the ink goes all out of it. . . . ("How old are you?") Two. (She persists in this.) (And Sam?) Two—we were born together." Her brother Sam is really four years old. ("Children don't go to school at two.") "Well, they ought to. . . ."

When told that in previous interviews she had asked many questions, she said "I don't remember."

She stated that she did not sleep well, that she played with her fingers all night to make horses out of them. These references to sleeplessness are of interest in view of a previous statement that she tried to keep awake at night, and of a later statement about lying awake till midnight and hearing something, and in view of the rôle played by her urinary symptoms at night.

One day Sally asked the social service worker if they killed babies at the hospital. ("Why? No!") "Well, someone says that is where babies are born and where they kill them and don't they kill them for crying and making a lot of noise?" It is possible that in these remarks Sally is very guardedly approaching the topic of childbirth.

As will be mentioned again the child seemed to be fascinated by water; reference has already been made to her questions about urine and its source, the exact date of which was not noted. That this was a topic of enormous interest to the child, and apparently a problem over which she ruminated continuously, was shown in an interview on June 19, 1915. She had come to the dispensary after an absence of several months; after coming into the consulting room she shut the door (a point she had insisted on in previous interviews), and then abruptly pounced upon the physician with the question: "Where does the water come from into the kidneys? ("The blood.") I've never seen any water in the blood. ("You've seen blood.") I've never seen my bladder; my bladder isn't liquid, is it? Can you tell me all about that? Can I lay on the couch while I talk? (In previous interviews she had occasionally lain on the couch and had shown a tendency to expose herself.) Are we going to have a talk? (A somewhat coquettish remark, and perhaps with a reference to the fact that the physician's examination consisted merely in talking, while later interviews show that she would prefer a physical examination.) What is the screen for? ("For undressing.") Somebody might undress that somebody might see the bladder? (In this remark it becomes quite clear that in her mind the medical situation is associated with sexual possibilities, and that the sexual is represented by the urinary system.) Will you answer all the questions I ask? What is that pipe for (pointing to waste pipe of washstand basin)? ("It is to remove waste water.") When I drink, I don't feel water going into my blood. How do things go down by nature (Is she comparing the

water-pipe of the basin with human anatomy?)? ("Where?") In your blood."

She fingered her wrist and said: "Is this a wall? like this (tapping wall of room)? What are the walls of your body? (She says that her father had referred to the body-walls.) If I get sick right here, will you do something to cure me?" This suggestion recurs in the interview: She asks what would happen if the elevator fell; if she broke her arm, would the doctor have to care for her? She stands on the couch reaching over as if about to fall, and thus necessitate the attention referred to. If something happen to her in the hospital, the physician will have to make a physical examination. This is the early foreshadowing of the trend which becomes so explicit later in her crude sexual proposals (June 9, 1917), when she says, "I would like you to examine me behind . . . because if you touch the tube (*i. e.*, genitalia) it's nice." She harps on this topic: "if I get sick right here, will you do something to cure me? ("How?") Maybe take my temperature, put a thermometer in my mouth. Then are you going to examine me?" ("How do you think?") She refers to examination of foot or head, of head and hands, of the pulse and the color of fingers.

"Are you taking notes to talk over when I come back? Shall we talk more?" The following is an example of her bizarre questions: "Suppose mother cut a chicken's legs off, why would it break the bone?" During a ride in the elevator she was much interested in the mechanism, and lay on the floor; when told it was filthy and would soil her dress, she asked what filthy meant.

The patient was not seen for several months; at the next visit at which notes were made (Jan. 14, 1916) she was less jerky in her movements than before, but her conduct was still rather boisterous. Her questioning trend was still prominent. She touched familiar objects, said "What is this?" *e. g.*, the feathers in a toy duck.) "Why do ducks have tails?"

She showed her old trick of sparring verbally with the physician especially when a third person was present. ("How are you getting along at school?") "Why do you want to know? ("I am interested in your development.") You can't develop in school. ("Why?") Because you can't develop in school." She hops round the room, throws the duck around rather aimlessly.

("How are you getting along at school?") "I don't know." She gives the same answer to a number of questions. ("How is

Sam?") "You don't know my brother's name (Sam). ("How old are you?") You know." This was her behavior when a colleague was in the room. On the following day (the date of this note is somewhat uncertain) she asks the physician if he will talk to her later; he assents. Later, when in the room, she runs at once to shut the door (this she had frequently done before; *cf.* January 17, 1914). ("How are you at school? and at home?") "I don't know—you don't want to know how well I am sleeping—sometimes something keeps me awake—you don't want to know what keeps me awake—you don't want to know now, do you? (These remarks would suggest an effort to pique the curiosity of the physician and as if her being awake had some special significance for her; *cf.* her obscure spontaneous remark, January 15, 1915, about being sleepless and playing with her fingers to make horses out of them.) On the 31st of December the whistles kept me awake—you don't want to know if I'm best at school—listen—is there a whole lot of ink—the ink that comes down when you need it? How does it know when you need it?" This interest in the pen, a tube containing ink, may have the same origin as her interest in all water-works, in the waste pipe of the washstand basin, in the flush of the toilet, an interest apparently derived from her intense interest in her own urinary system the meaning of which will later become quite explicit.

The patient on coming into the consultation room had at once run to shut the door; she said "Are you going to have a little talk with me—as soon as you get done writing?"

When asked about her sleep and dreams she said: "You don't want to know—what do you want to know what I dream for—have you been upstairs to see your class (correct)? Did you go up in the elevator? . . . are you through asking me? Do you know what I want to ask you? . . ." ("Why did you shut the door?") "So people won't hear me talking. ("What difference does that make?") A lot of difference—every time I give a report of my school to mother she asks me to her room so that Sam can't see me—Sam might see me get punished—Sam oughtn't to see me give a report of my lessons." The situation in the consultation room calls up in association the picture of her being punished by her mother, while her brother is not allowed to be present (? because she is exposed during punishment; in the consultation room the tendency to exhibitionism has been noted and will later be more definite).

The patient said that at night she had to get up to pass water, more than once; this keeps her from sleeping. ("And in the day-time?") "Of course I couldn't go all day without passing water." ("Do you hesitate to pass water?") "Why hesitate?"

As a matter of fact Sally's habits with regard to urination were very striking. Her mother said that in the day-time she would protest against passing water, and would sometimes wait until almost bent double. Her mother interpreted this as meaning "she doesn't want to take time to go," while the sexual significance of it was later spontaneously admitted by the patient. Occasionally she would wait so long that she would wet herself before getting to the toilet; she would then not tell her mother that she had wet herself. This would happen about once a week; her mother would see her sitting wriggling on a chair, and finally the patient would be unable to retain the urine. Three months previously she had urinated on her father's lap a few minutes after her father had asked her if she did not want to go to the toilet.

At this time (January 22, 1916) the patient's general behavior and disposition were reviewed with the mother. Sally had since Christmas been "awful"; her mother had been unable to force or coax her to do anything. Two whippings for poor school-work had provoked no reaction, caused no tears.

As to food Sally was very capricious, and could not be made to eat dishes for which she did not care; the mother, however, was not very strict in this respect—"if a child doesn't want a thing, I don't make them eat it." Sally was irregular in her visits to the toilet, and would at times become constipated and receive medicine; it may be questioned whether the so-called constipation was not a more or less deliberate retention of feces, associated with pleasurable feelings, similar to those which fostered the deliberate retention of urine.

The child's marked curiosity about her own urinary apparatus, about plumbing arrangements in general and about the mechanism of a fountain pen has already been noted. The mother (March, 1914) said, "the child is crazy about running water. She turns the tap a dozen times a day and would keep it going for hours, if I let her."

On one occasion (1913) the teacher had been called on to rescue the patient who was trying to get down the sewer; Sally's explanation was that she wanted to see what was in the sewer. A long time after this incident, one rainy day when torrents were

pouring along the gutters and down the sewers, she remarked "water can go down the sewers, but little girls can't." One day at the dispensary (March, 1914), when using the toilet, she said to the social worker, "cannot anyone tell me where the water goes? Does it go 999 miles into the earth?"

The mother said that Sally took no special care as to who saw her exposed; she was also scandalized at the child's habit of lying on the floor and kicking up her legs, "it is not nice and, if I do not correct her now, she may do something worse when she is big." The mother intuitively felt that the behavior was more than the healthy exuberance of a child, was the early indication of a rather dangerous trend; at the hospital the tendency to exhibitionism was noticed on many occasions.

At home and at school Sally's behavior was erratic and somewhat turbulent; she defied her mother and would not yield to punishment. She would put her sweater on the top of her rain-coat; she would grab a boy's hat and wear it at any angle. When given a note by the teacher to take home she had torn it up, leaving some in the teacher's desk and the rest on the floor.

Her teacher considered her quite intelligent but very erratic; she attributed her queer behavior to "pure mischief, not ignorance." At ten years of age she was in the third grade; she would not coöperate in the Binet-Simon intelligence tests.

In a visit to the dispensary on February 19, 1916, Sally behaved in a rather typical way. She would not take intelligence tests seriously, answered in a flippant or evasive manner. In a prank (or was it on the chance of receiving some injury necessitating a physical examination?) she fell down two or three times on the floor, then left the room. She hid in another room, asked the physician to find her, was found on a couch; she burst out laughing raucously, kicked up her legs, said she was kicking like a steam-engine.

She kept kicking and laughing for some time, talked in a rather unintelligible way, finally ran out of the room. In this scene the behavior of the patient could hardly be interpreted otherwise than as coquettish in a crude and precocious way.

During the next month the report from school was one of odd behavior; she would gallop around the class, laugh raucously, throw down her books, play with saliva in her hands. When in a store she asked the woman innumerable questions, *e. g.*, whether she had children, why she didn't get some. The patient had previously not expressed any overt curiosity as to the origin of children. Ques-

tions as to the origin of children had indeed been strikingly absent from the patient's repertoire; her mother remembered that Sally had recently asked where her little brother Sam was before he was born.

April 29, 1916, Sally works at the sand-pile, taking pleasure in making it very wet and splashing the mixture about. She does not care to be interviewed, says she doesn't want to be asked questions, doesn't care to talk (?coy).

May 18, 1916, her behavior is similar to that of the last visit; she dabbles with sand, does not want to go to be interviewed, "you may speak too long."

In June the school report was that Sally was not doing very well, and would not be promoted from the fourth grade. She was considered to be a great detriment to the class. The boys were apt to tease her, and she would become very ugly. The teacher described her as immodest and said that she masturbated sometimes.

During the three years of contact with the hospital, and notwithstanding the fact that Sally was on familiar terms with the social service worker and the physician, she had given few direct intimations as to the underlying conflicts in her nature. Her symptoms seemed to be the disguised expression of important instinctive forces under the influence of an unusually repressive home atmosphere. At the hospital the endeavor was made to give the child a freer atmosphere, in which she could discuss any personal difficulties. Her obsessive questioning on every possible subject seemed to be the expression of an insatiable curiosity, which did not have a direct outlet; the questions about the urinary apparatus and her fascination with all analogous water-works seemed to cover some more fundamental interest, probably interest in sex matters. Her exhibitionism, her somewhat coquettish behavior, her verbal sparring, were all in line with this interpretation. Her peculiar disinclination to pass urine with occasional incontinence was also suspected of being closely related to repressed sexual trends.

But though these interpretations were easy, Sally had said little to confirm them; no attempt had been made by direct questioning to get her to discuss any special topics. This was the situation when after a year's absence the patient was again seen at the dispensary. In this interview (June 9, 1917) the patient spontaneously revealed all the underlying factors and threw a flood of light on the mechanism of the disorder. Such a direct and spontaneous explanation is a document of the first importance; it demonstrates in an ab-

solutely convincing way the fact that at an early age symptoms, which are apt to be looked on as the expression of some general neurotic instability, may be due to the very specific but disguised working of the sexual instinct. It demonstrates clearly the close connection between urinary symptoms and the sexual instinct.

During the interview the patient talked very freely; the physician had some difficulty in taking down her rapid and jerky utterances; he put occasional questions to get a clearer or fuller statement from the patient.

On the road to the hospital Sally had suggested to the social worker who brought her, to tell the physician that she was dead; this might perhaps indicate slight pique at not having been brought to the hospital for such a long period, it might also have a deeper determinant; for in the interview she tells of her brother taking sexual liberties with her when she pretended that she was dead.

At first the patient plays at the sand-pile, then comes to the consultation room and washes her hands; then sits down. She asks the physician if he is a "medical doctor"; this question probably touches the old topic which had always interested her so much, viz., whether the physician merely asked questions or whether he would not also make a physical examination; the sexual nature of this interest is later expressed in unmistakable terms. Her next question shows that the engrossing topic of the interview of June 19, 1915, is still in her mind; quite abruptly and irrelevantly she says: "If I were to ask about the bladder and kidneys would you tell me? . . . What happens when you have cold in the kidneys, and the water comes so much, every three seconds? Why are you taking notes? You're not going to send that home to mother?" ("Have you to go to the toilet very often?") "Sometimes I have to go every one second (jesting?) . . . at night I had to get up twice, the first time I vomited, sometimes I get up once, feel for the chamber, can't find it, mother won't make a light, then I have to go to the bath-room . . . sometimes I used to wet the bed. . . ."

("Do you drink much at night?") "Yes, that's one thing that makes me go to the bath-room—I drink eight gallons of water at night—don't you?—how much are you supposed to drink? One night last summer I had watermelon, I wet the bed that night." The fact that the patient drinks much at night would suggest the encouragement of a full bladder and bed-wetting rather than the opposite. She claims that she has not wet the bed for the last year: "In the daytime when I haven't a cold in my kidneys, I just go

once a day (the sexual basis of this retention is made clear later in the interview). I go more at night time than I do in the day." Apparently quite irrelevantly, but with the suggestion of a repressed associative link of sexual nature, she says: "Once a long time ago, mother put me to bed about seven; about twelve I was still awake." ("What happened?") "I thought I heard them (she passes quickly by the topic; does she refer to her having been aware of sexual relations?). I dreamt that some one was going to take me and throw me down the elevator pit. . . ."

Returning to the topic of urination, she says: "I have taken five cups and then was full to the neck . . . every time I take water I do it. My mother says I'll be sorry when I get older. I do it just for fun (her first frank admission of pleasure gained from the urinary system). ("Why?") It's fun—it makes so much come out of the toilet (an evasive explanation, which perhaps she does not mean to be taken too seriously). You say the water comes from the blood (information given to Sally in the interview of June 19, 1915), and goes into the kidney and into the bladder—where does it go then?" She is now approaching the real center of her intense interest in the whole urinary system, and is indirectly, perhaps coquettishly, leading the physician to discuss the sexual apparatus. ("It goes into the toilet.") "And where then? ("To the sea.") And where then? ("To the clouds.") And then? ("It comes down in rain.") What! my toilet water? ("You drink to have the fun of water coming out?") Yes—in order to have more water in the sea so that bigger boats can float." She darts out this somewhat sarcastic response very rapidly, and it is a good measure of her alertness; she thus for the second time gives an evasive answer to the question of what pleasure she derives from urination. "Sometimes I get in a hurry, wet my drawers—that's the fun of it. . . . I like to make water. ("Why?") To let mother know I have a cold in my kidneys" (again an evasive answer, sparring with the physician).

She asks more than once about the notes which the physician is taking, she asks about the couch, makes references to examination; she more or less duplicates the interview of two years ago (June 19, 1915). After asking what the couch is for, Sally comments on the screen, "the screen is so you won't be seen if naked; I would peep round the screen (*i. e.*, to see the patient naked). ("Do you want to see people naked?") I like to see Sam (brother)—between the legs, he has a long tube, I have a short one. . . ." She asks

whether if she were sick, the doctor would examine her; the sexual context of this question throws light on all her queries of the past three years as to whether the physician would examine her. The underlying sexual motive of these questions, although suspected at the time, has not been beyond doubt. She says she would like it (*i. e.*, to be examined). If something were wrong what would he do down there?

At this point in the examination, or somewhat later, she says: "I would like you to examine me there, and behind (partly exposing herself), because if you touch the tube (the localization of the erotic sensations associated with urination), it's nice . . . it's nice when I'm wiping myself. . . ."

She admits that she touches herself every day (masturbation). "I touch myself every day now down at the tube."

She says that wetting herself is nice, because in urinating "the tube touches me there" (pointing to the thigh). "Do you go to the toilet when you need to, or just when you're told (she has frequently been inquisitive about the physician)? . . . I only go when I'm told . . . it feels nice behind when I wipe myself, sometimes I have to squeeze the dirt out, it's nice also in front . . . if somebody was naked (on the sofa) I'd peep—I'd like to see . . . if I was sick, would you examine me?"

The erotic feelings associated with the condition of the bladder are also expressed by the patient in terms which one meets so often in the psychoses as the disguised expression of sexual feelings: "One day when I was trying to get down my clothes, I had to dance around . . . it looked as though I were trying to get away from the shock of the current—the electric current coming out of the batteries . . . when I'm in a hurry I've to dance around while unfastening my drawers, it's as if I were trying to get away from something—shock of a current. . . ."

The patient not only admits frankly the sexual pleasure she gets from her urinary behavior, she talks about various sexual games she has indulged in. She tells of having had pleasure in looking at her brother's genitalia. "Once Sam was trying to give me a bath and he washed my bottom." After her weekly bath instead of going downstairs, as her mother expects, she waits and fools (sexually) with Sam. Sometimes in her hurry to urinate, she does so in the water, "I like hot water." "I made out I was dead once, he (Sam) fooled with my bottom—he was trying to wake me up, he couldn't do it, so he unfastened my drawers, fooled with my bottom—" ("You liked it?") "Yes."

The following account of sexual games may throw light on the "naughty" games referred to in the interview of June 7, 1913, in regard to which she had said, "must I tell everything?" She says now: "In the country Eleanor and Sam were fooling with my bottom, Eleanor at the back, Sam at the front . . . then I fooled with Sam's front, Eleanor with his back . . . Sam's front looks like he's laid an egg, sometimes I see the hole in his pipe where the water comes out . . . we do this every time we go down to the country." While talking about this the patient is rolling about the sofa, partly exposing herself.

Nothing requires to be added to the clinical history, which gives a striking example of the complicated drama which may be staged in the child's mind. The conflicts which this child of poor nervous endowment found such difficulty in managing are due to instinctive forces which play a rôle in the development of everyone; and this experiment of nature may sensitize us to minor manifestations of similar conflicts in the life of the ordinary child.

In the light of this case it may be easier to understand other examples of aimless and obsessive questioning, of precocious intellectual research, of one-sided interests and fascinations, of indulgence in special games, of special attitudes to the physician, of toying with danger and with chances of injury, of eccentric behavior, and of anomalies of urination and defecation; and the basis of similar symptoms in adult patients may sometimes be traced to an early period, to the complexity of which conventional psychology has failed to do justice.

SUMMARY

The clinical history of a girl, studied from the age of seven to the age of eleven, who showed obsessive questioning, intense interest in water and plumbing, a tendency to wet herself associated with deliberate retention, bizarre behavior apparently of coquettish nature, exhibitionism, a desire to use the medical situation for erotic purposes; the underlying sex interests and activities were only directly admitted at the end of four years.

Reference is made to the varied setting of urinary symptoms in the adult psychoses and psychoneuroses, to the understanding of which symptoms the careful study of childhood material brings valuable contributions.⁶

⁶ For material very similar to that presented in this paper one may consult an article by J. Sadger, Ueber Urethralerotik: *Jahrb. f. psychoan. u. psychopath. Forschungen*, Vol. II, p. 409. Abstracted in *THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol. V, No. 1 (January, 1918).

TRANSLATION
A STUDY OF THE MENTAL LIFE OF THE CHILD

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(Continued from page 227)

The making of plans with regard to a future vocation, by younger or older children, likewise falls within the province of the imagination; although just here the suggestive influence of the adult is not to be underestimated. The question which strangers constantly direct to boys, in particular: "What are you going to be?" is now replied to, in but few cases, with a logically framed "Nothing"—as my nephew used to answer at the age of from three to five years. Frequently, from sexual reasons, which Freud discusses in his "Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie,"⁹ the boy's wish is to become a "coachman" or a "conductor"; or, again, a "General," or "the Kaiser"—which psycho-analytic experience teaches us to interpret as "father." That this interpretation does, in truth, express the child's mental attitude with accuracy is shown by the oft-cited comment as to the glorious amount of freedom the children would have then, and how the imaginary Kaiser would do everything which father prohibits at home. The son's choice is apt to fall, at last, on the vocation of the father, it is true, but not until the boy has hesitated long between a number of others, of very varied sorts; and even then he is often moved, by unconscious feelings of hostility, to

⁹ English translation Nerv. and Ment. Dis. Monograph Series, No. 7.

abandon this decision. A boy who, at five years of age, was passionately fond of his father, at that time wanted to be nothing else but "a teacher, like papa." Family quarrels, however, estranged the child from his father to such an extent that when the former was in his tenth year he entertained a dislike and contempt for the latter, and declared: "I shall not be a teacher. That is altogether too small a position for me. I shall be a university professor." Naturally, he had no suspicion that it was the remnant of his strong love that determined him, nevertheless, to choose the profession of teacher. A vocation which seems to almost every boy the finest goal possible is that of architect, or of engineer. This preference is connected in great part, of course, with the boy's interest in his favorite toy, his box of building blocks. Indeed, he carries on his building with every material which comes to hand—sand, clay, mud, dough, stones, bits of wood, empty thread-spools, etc., all of which are alike welcome. My nephew, when in his sixth year, used to amuse himself, for a time, every day, by constructing a water-closet out of a meat-platter and glass knife-rests. There was always a play door (*Spieltür*), and he never forgot to divide off the space into compartments for men and for women, respectively. A bottle-cork formed the lantern (he said) "so that the people could find the closet in the night-time." Another boy, of five years, built in the garden a fortress with ten gates and twenty "toilets"—"for the many, many soldiers." In this fashion does the childish fancy, even during play, select those paths which we have already learned to know in speaking of anal and urethral erotism. But love makes the boy build beautiful villas and palaces for his mother, too. They are intended for the mother, her son, and his wife and children. There is never room for other people. Once when my nephew was making building plans, I interrupted him by saying: "Well! And am I not to have any apartment in your house?" "No," he declared. "there is no room for you there; and you don't want to live in the country all the time." Then he added, hesitatingly: "Well, if you will have it so, you shall have a room under the mansard-roof; there you will have the most quiet." In that way the boy relieved himself of all the annoying and inconvenient "being together" with other people, while he considered their wishes also. If in the case of the little girl, in the later years of the so-called "play-age," the feeling of modesty bars out many forms of play that call attention to the sex-instinct, yet she does not fail to admonish her dolls (in all seriousness) to attend to their bodily needs. The delight of a little girl of

from six to seven years of age, over a doll given her by her uncle, knew no bounds; it was a doll whose mechanism permitted a genuine movement of the bowels (*Verdauung*) to be imitated. The child's joyful account of it to us left no doubt what a fine choice her uncle had made: "The whole afternoon we have been giving the doll something to eat, because then she can 'make' (do) it all over again; and we have always made her clean after it, too." Once, in the same year, when the little girl—after playing a piece successfully on the piano—was asked what she wished to be, she declared naïvely: "A mamma." As psycho-analysis shows, a poorly repressed anal and urethral erotism very often causes the care of her child's body to be an (unadmitted) source of pleasure to the grown woman. And certainly anal and urethral erotism influences boys very powerfully in the choice of the future vocation, just as it does girls, and that at an early age, because subconscious wishes lead them to desire to act out freely these components of the sexual impulse.

In the question as to the origin of children a very broad field is opened to the infantile imagination. Only at a very early age do most children feel satisfied with the fairy-tale of the stork and of the lake full of children. Soon, the change in the mother's form during a new pregnancy, and then the "confinement" (*Wochenbett*) itself, both lead to the first doubts in regard to the truth of these stories. The time arrives before long when children think it impossible, or unlikely, that keeping the little new arrival warm is the only reason why their mother has to stay in bed. Thus a four-year-old little girl who sees herself incommoded and the customary order of the household disturbed by the birth of a little brother, declares that she wants to put herself in bed in mother's place and warm the baby, so that mother can get up and prepare breakfast. Likewise, the fable that the stork has bitten mother in the leg does not retain power over children for any length of time. At most, this fate is looked upon as a just punishment upon mother, because she wished to have another child. A five-year-old boy who received with aversion the news that he would have a little brother or a sister in the near future, expressed his opinion on the day after the birth: "It serves mother right, that the stork bit her so hard as to make her cry; I do not need a brother." This hostile attitude toward an undesired addition to the family arouses in the infantile mind death-phantasies and death-wishes toward the little intruder; although then, as a matter of reaction, these tendencies shift to excessive tenderness. W. Stern¹⁰ records as follows with reference to

¹⁰ C. u. W. Stern, *Kindersprache*, p. 62.

the second half of the third year of his oldest daughter, Hilde (the little brother, Günter, was about six months old at the time): "In an imagined conversation (*Phantasiegespräch*) with her doll to whom she is showing a picture-book, she says: 'Just look, dolly, look! That's a perfectly lovely picture, isn't it?' (Dolly says 'yes.') (Mother: 'You must tell her what is in the picture.') 'Aunts, and uncles, and Günter; and he's dead.'" Stern thinks that "dead" is put in the place of "lying down"; while in truth, here too, the Freudian conception of an unconscious death-wish might well count as correct. Compayré tells of a four-year-old boy who, armed with a knife, bent over the cradle of a ten-months-old infant and disfigured its face terribly. Unfortunately, the information is lacking, in this report, as to whether these children were of the same family. As Freud and Rank have shown, infantile sexual theories are connected, as a rule, with the process of digestion. Since the little child rarely knows anything about the function of the vagina, birth either through the anus or as an act of vomiting seems to him entirely natural. Occasionally one meets with the idea that the child is born from the breast, more frequently yet from the navel; that is to say, either through spontaneous bursting of the body, or through forcible cutting open. The first view might beget in the child the pleasure in cracking seed-pods and in bursting buds; the latter view is mostly to be found in those children who, by listening, have heard something as to the act of birth (*Gebärakt*)—some word or something done.

In spite of the fact that the small child is satisfied with the theory that the mother is the only person who is responsible for an increase in the family; and that the question, "How does the child get into the mother's body?" usually arises, for the first time, in later years of childhood, nevertheless, it is not uncommon to find even very young children meditating upon the problems here involved. The usual explanation of the origin of children is based on the digestion idea; the eating of a fruit, of a fish, etc., is the essential factor; and this idea, which harks back to fairy-tales, can best be brought into harmony with the notion of the anal birth. Whatever gets separated from the body in that way, must first be taken in through the mouth—hence, as food. Linked to this phantasy comes the oft-heard joke warning the child that he must take care not to swallow fruit-pips or else a fruit-tree will grow in his stomach. Moreover, the increase in size of the mother's body even to shapelessness, agrees very well with the infantile idea of what happens. This change is of a

sort that no child fails to notice. A purposeful repression, which has nothing to do with childlike ingenuousness, is already to be seen in the child's significant and insistent silence. The child from whom these processes have not been kept secret as a forbidden thing, to be met with averted gaze, expresses himself quite objectively and without embarrassment in regard to the change in a pregnant woman's body: "See, Mutti! That lady is going to have a little baby, pretty soon"—testified my four-year-old nephew, to the indignation of several ladies traveling with us in a railroad-coupe—while the future father replied to the little fellow: "Yes, and we hope it will be as clever a little boy as you are."

To the child the sexual act appears no whit less embellished by phantasy-pictures. To this statement the objection might be urged that as a rule a well-guarded little child knows nothing about such things; but in making such remonstrance, one forgets how often, in the best families, the custom prevails of putting the smallest children to bed in the sleeping-room of the parents—doing so from the mistaken idea that the child will sleep the whole night, and so all the intimacies of the parents will be kept secret from him. Now, as a matter of experience, there are a great many children who wake up, as a regular thing, shortly after their parents have gone to rest; children do this from wishing, subconsciously, to intervene in the sexual proceedings, concerning which they have learned just enough to think of them as something special and secret, because something done in the dark. When the child becomes somewhat older, often he keeps very quiet in his little bed, in order to spy out more. The sexual act often seems to children a "rough and tumble" fight in which the stronger person (Teil) overcomes the weaker. The following interpretation, actually given by a small boy, is by no means unique: "When mother has made father angry, in the day-time, he straps her to the bed, at night, and beats her." All the child's observations with regard to the details of the sexual intercourse of his parents make him think of it as maltreatment and punishment, and thus serve as fuel for his own sadistic tendencies. From such experiences the boy, in particular, is likely to acquire an over-strong self-consciousness, a desire for mastery which finds expression by day-light under the form of fierceness and ungovernable temper, showing themselves in games and sports.

How keen the little child's faculty of observation is in the sexual field (Gebiet), how luxuriant his imagination is in relation to such matters, is illustrated by the statement of a lady who remembers, as

an experience of her later childhood, that she had always been afraid her mother would hurt her father during the night. It is doubtless true that the little girl's suppressed feelings of hostility toward her parents speak out in this thought; but the origin of the fear is not solely explained by that. This lady, when a child of six or seven years, shared the sleeping-room of her father and mother, and often saw her strong mother bending over her father who was of a delicate constitution. Although the child was not able to understand the significance of this position, yet frequently she played with her younger, less robust, sister the game of "man and wife" where she herself, being the stronger child, took pleasure in kneeling upon her weaker sister, with the threat: "I'll squeeze you to death." In the popular game of "father and mother" the child's imagination lives itself out to the limit; the chance of keeping the exhibition-impulse busy, and of allowing the looking-impulse (*Schaulust*) full play, often counts as the object and stipulation of "getting married." In his "*Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*" Freud¹¹ introduces instructive cases illustrating the infantile group of ideas (*Vorstellungskomplex*) in regard to the sexual relations between man and wife. These are cases which are to be taken as paradigms for the usual course of development of the child in this realm of thought and fancy. In the first place, the child has to seek some way of reconciling his fairy-tale lore with his actual observations. In no other sphere of interest does he find himself met with so many lies and such obtrusive hypocrisy as he does here. And when to these are added the jokes of adults who think they do not need to take care what they say before the child, the conditions are secured for the rapid growth of that unconscious desire which listens eagerly to catch every slightest hint at disclosures bearing on the relations which are kept so carefully shrouded in mystery. The sexual phenomena in the life of animals confront the child very early, and—through the connecting-link of the defecation-process, with which he is familiar—become of such great interest to him that even when his knowledge is still slight, an understanding of the true state of things soon dawns upon him. For that reason, teachers and psychologists have proposed, repeatedly, to unite sex-enlightenment with observations made in the animal-world (kingdom) and that of plants—but with little prospect of result, it seems to me, as long as the stork is still brought in to account for the origin of human beings. For sex-enlightenment only one thing is needed, namely the substitution—at

¹¹ Freud, *Über infantile Sexualtheorien*.

the outset—of the right explanation for the wrong one. Why the evasion, the story about the stork, the lake with the children, and so forth? As soon as the child's intelligence puts the first question as to the origin of children, the answer should give the truth, framed in accordance with the child's power to take it in. How cleverly and how delicately Frau Scupin discusses this subject with her five-year-old little son! If every mother found the right words at the right moment, many a child would be spared brooding on these things, and then he would be kept from a form of thinking which makes his parents seem impure to him and which debases man's highest sentiments. And if, with fine tact like that of the mother mentioned, the (model) mother were to add that the child should keep his knowledge to himself, because every mother wishes to explain in person to her child how life becomes incarnate, she would have no cause to dread the premature awakening of a sensuality destined to lead the child to forbidden act or speech. I have heard of a four-year-old little boy, from whom the truth had not been withheld, who proudly revealed to another child that it grew in its mother's body, whereupon the mother of the latter refused to let the two children play together any longer, saying: "What a depraved boy that is! The stork brought my children." But in doing this, she committed an error much worse than that of the first child. The more natural the origin of the human being is made to seem to the child, the less the subject will occupy his thoughts and be manipulated by his imagination. Whether one should connect information relating to the propagation of the species with manifestations of plant-life or of animal-life, or with the child's own observation of women about to become mothers, is a problem which admits of no general answer. But certainly the instruction should be given before the child has opportunity to spy into the intimacies of his parents; for through the influence of this premature spying, the child is robbed of the best part of his frankness and simplicity. It is not to be denied that it is far easier to make the birth-process comprehensible to the child than it is to explain to him the rôle of the father. Before the question "But how does the baby get into the mother's body?" the mother, as wife, often comes to a halt. The mother who without shyness has told her child how he lived a long time in her body, and grew there until the place became too small and dark for him, and how he freed himself from his prison and caused his mother much pain in doing so; such a mother will hesitate to tell more. Even the most intelligent women shrink from speaking about

the most intimate of the relations between man and wife. Much, much time will elapse before the prejudice will have disappeared against telling the truth about this also, at the moment when the child's reason (*Verstand*) and feeling (*Gemüt*) demand it. But if, in instructive words, it is made clear to the child that this act is an expression of the highest love, and is only possible to grown people, there should be hardly more cause to fear that the childish imagination will become overstimulated than it would be, perhaps, upon hearing a description of the work of an engineer, etc. Moreover it seems that Nature herself has drawn the boundary-lines at which, at different ages of the child, his curiosity comes to a standstill. My nephew, an exceedingly intelligent little fellow, who shies at no question when it concerns something which appears to him worth knowing, was informed very early about the origin of animals and of human beings—a task which was made substantially easier through the fact of his living in the country. At four years of age, he recognized, from the growth of the teats, that an animal was about to have young; and he applied that (fact) to the females of his environment. He protects and feeds animals that are big with young; and he is full of chivalrous attention to pregnant women. But even now, when he is six and a half years old, it is a matter of indifference to him *how* this state of pregnancy comes to exist; indeed, he seems to believe that it comes of itself when the woman is at a certain age, and that preparation is made therefore in early childhood. At least, a remark of his—made after a visit from a seven-year-old friend—points to this view: "Erna will have three children, some day; I heard them fighting inside of her."

The prejudices which continue to prevent a natural, free method of enlightenment in the handling of the sexual problem in the education of children, form the turbid springs whence many unfortunate things flow that are disturbing to adult life. The psychic impotence of the husband which places serious limitations alike on his power of work and his power of enjoyment, the anesthesia of the wife through which both (husband and wife) are cheated of marital satisfaction, have root quite frequently in distorted ideas on sex-matters and in perverted sexual demands made by one or the other party. These longings which thus keep their hold so strongly are the ineradicable remains of infantile sex-theories. In the woman, in particular, there is retained (from her infancy) a certain sense of guilt, the painful feeling of having taken part in something disgusting and forbidden (*etwas Hässlichem und Verbotenem*).

A fertile field is opened, to the child's imagination, in the realm of the fairy-tale. Scarcely one of these creations but derives its power from those references—to love and hate, to kindness and cruelty—that are of a sort to stir the emotions of even the youngest child very deeply. The queen who longs in vain for children, and whose wish a kind fairy finally fulfills through the gift of a piece of fruit; the king's daughter who chooses the shepherd for her lord and consort; the prince who goes forth to fight dragons and other monsters in order to show himself worthy of the love of his dear lady; such tales as these awaken in the child's heart the same sympathetic response as is aroused by the thousand and one distresses of the seven roes, or by the mortal fear of Little Red Riding-hood. How closely the child follows every detail of the story, and how ruthlessly he corrects every variation from the text and fills in every omission. My sister, even in her third year, refused to allow the slightest changes in the once-heard wording. Woe unto our aunt, the indefatigable story-teller of our nursery, if she related as follows: "And soon after that the queen had a child."—"No, no!" the little critic would interrupt, "not until after a year," or, "No, you have left out 'again'; it is her second child." If carping criticism permits no change of text to go uncensored, yet imagination takes care that the little listeners forget their real environment, time and place, and also that they feel with the hero of the fairy-tale, suffer with him the most terrible tortures of hunger and thirst, and experience with him all the terrors of the dark forest. When the story-hour is at an end, how often the child refuses to go into a dark room alone, yes even into the neighboring room; for the monsters and the ghostly figures follow him, he feels himself still under the spell of the fairy-tale, and only slowly and reluctantly can he free himself from the enchantment, from the mental cocoon in which he has enwrapped himself. It is certain that sexual feelings and emotions play an important part in all this. The analysis of neurotic patients has shown that fear often excites libidinous stirrings; and not a few adults who have remained in good health can remember that while listening intently when fairy-tales were being told, pleasurable sensations were experienced in the genital organs—sensations (*Organempfindungen*) similar to those during onanistic activity in the later years of youth. The pressing together of the thighs, the stretching of the body—or pressing the arms against it, the unnatural holding of the breath—are signs which are readily to be noticed by any person who observes a child attentively

when he is listening to fairy-tales. Indeed, masturbatory acts frequently accompany the listening to such stories. At four years of age, my nephew stated, with no idea of the impropriety: "Mother, when you tell me fairy-stories at night, I press my little tip (his 'membrum') so hard between my legs (Schenkel) that it is all hot and stiff." "Sitting tight" (close), as children call the act of keeping still when stories are told, remains characteristic of many people; and young girls, in particular, are often heard to complain: "I have been sitting still so long, reading novels, that it has made me very stiff." Under such conditions, the flushed cheeks and shining eyes complete the picture of sexual excitement.

Imagination enables the child to conjure up everything which he thinks worth wishing for. Nature, especially, is transformed through the creative power of the imagination, so as to conform to the child's momentary feeling and wishes. Goltz writes: "What all child-phantasies, almost without exception, have in common is the conception of an entirely new and unknown world beyond the apparent horizon." Perhaps, in this notion, is expressed the desire to reach, at last, the final solution of life's riddle; and this same hope and wish may also lie at the root of the boy's pleasure in starting out on adventures and in making journeys. Naturally, to the child, "the entirely new and unknown world" is such a one in which even greater love will be given him than at home, a world in which there will be no laws (Gebot) and no prohibitions (Verbot)—no "must" and "must not"—a world in which his own will is to be the only thing that counts. This making of a world of one's own, a kingdom which lies apart from everyday life and is not connected with it, is a tendency rather distinctive of the child. To mark off a corner of the room for himself and his playmates, to call a piece of ground in the garden his own—be it never so small—is the child's desire and delight. In this space he feels himself sole ruler; here he brings together the secret treasures from his pocket; here he nourishes his sentiments of revolt; here he hides himself when his mother's voice calls him from play. "In childhood one feels the poetry of the corner, of the space divided off from the common space. In this longing for a place set apart from the space around it, a little world in the midst of a great one, the child instinctively seeks expression for a common need, and his hut-building has its poetic justification no less than had the building of the 'Holy of Holies' in the Temple of Solomon."¹² I have always noticed that this seeking for a

¹² See Goltz, p. 256.

quiet nook is to be found especially with those children in whose homes certain rooms—whether a reception-room for callers, or father's "den" (Arbeitszimmer)—are "forbidden territory" to young people. But the space under the table or beneath the piano-forte is also "a place of refuge" from threatened punishment. Perhaps this retreat reminds them of mother's lap where very little children take refuge from every new impression. With almost all children the preference for "hiding-places" extends to the attic and the cellar. The view of "the entirely new and unknown world" to be had from the one, and the fear-creating darkness of the other, attract the child ever anew. If one considers how well adapted such private corners are to many a forbidden pleasure, then their never-failing fascination (Zauber) is easily explained. Possibly the deepest root of the infantile fancy (fondness) for quiet corners is to be sought in phantasies pertaining to the prenatal state in the uterus; the testimonies of neurotic patients, treated psycho-analytically, speak in favor of this view.

Although manifestations of fear belong to the sphere of the emotional life, nevertheless it appears to me not inappropriate to speak of fear in connection with its powerful promoter, the imagination. Compayré designates fear as "the characteristic emotion of the child," and Stanley Hall in his able (geistvoll) investigation into fear has given us a deep insight into its nature and its forms, most of which date from early childhood. The first-named investigator sees in fear "a vague apprehension of a possible evil" and attributes the origin of fear to the coöperation of intelligence and imagination. It is true that, in our more mature years, the critical power of reason exercises a restraining influence upon the over-zealous imaginative-faculty and greatly tempers the creative efforts of the fancy, but in the case of children the conditions are quite different. In consequence of the instability of the child's ideas, the limited scope of his experience, and the relatively small amount of information at his command, his intelligence works under such great difficulties, that the imagination easily gets the upper hand in situations which are strange or unusual. Thus arises the fear of everything new, and the fear of the dark. Both of these are the expression of increased need of love (necessity for it). With the child the darkness loses much of its terror the instant he feels that he is not alone. He gropes after a protecting hand; he wishes at least to hear the voice of a loved person. Indeed, by singing and talking as if to someone else, he deceives himself into thinking that he hears such a voice.

And so, if the manifestations of love are not to be obtained outside of himself, he turns to his personal thoughts and feelings as to a place of refuge. The child approaches everything new, everything unknown, with tacit demands for signs of love (in the broadest sense of the word), yet at the same time with an underlying dread lest these longings be not gratified. With respect to persons this expectation of love is obvious from the very beginning, but the same (hope) holds good also in regard to inanimate things, for to the child's imagination every object is alive; and if for "love" we substitute "gain in pleasure," then the situation becomes clearer.

It happens frequently, in earliest childhood, that other fears join themselves to these two most primitive forms (novelty and the dark); and these secondary fears originate, regularly, in sex-repressions. But since sexual-erotic (*sexuell-erotisch*) experiences are of one or another sort according to the individual concerned, the feeling of fear does not have the same history with all children. It may, nevertheless, be affirmed as always true that fear makes its home in those same secret places of the soul in which those phantasies have their birth that spring from the unappeased libido and unsatisfied curiosity, and that intensify both. The former is provided with new nourishment by this feeling of fear which also gives (or attempts to give) to the latter the reply to those questions on sex-matters which the children's adult guardians have declined to encourage.¹³ Everything that the child hears and sees, but fails wholly or partially to grasp, concerning the sexual relations among men and animals, is stowed away in his mind; and in the course of the struggle for clearness of comprehension, the phantoms of fear arise. They grow to be of such enormous size that the young mind breaks beneath the burden of them. If the analysis of these extreme cases does not fall strictly within the scope of this treatise, nevertheless the boundary-line between normal and pathological mental occurrences is so hard to draw, that it is difficult to speak of the fears of a healthy child without touching upon the phobias of neurotics.

The methods employed in education need to be scrutinized afresh with reference to this fear-problem; for the emotion of fear often arises as the result of a faulty training in childhood, and it may rest with education to determine whether the tendency to fear becomes diminished or increased. The fear of punishment, the fear of ghostly figures of avenging Justice, etc., are often to be traced back either to excessive severity, or to a failure on the part of teachers

¹³ Thus taking an unsympathetic attitude toward child-problems. Trans.

to exercise due authority. The child should obey from love; if this is felt in his heart, then no threats of punishment will be required—no invocation of “bugaboos” (Wauwau), and the like, will be needed if the teacher inspires love. Moreover, if the relations between the child and the adults with whom he comes in contact are of the right sort and marked by the proper mixture of authority and affection, the fear of animals will be less likely to arise; especially if such adults—whom the child is sure to take as models for himself, in points of attitude and conduct—do not behave in such a way as to suggest habits of fear to him. Fear is frequently a source of erotic gratification to the child and acquires, for this reason, a tone of pleasure and a tone of distress; and it is this doubleness of tendency (ambivalence) that explains the infectiousness of fear.

V. REASONING (DIE VERNUNFT)

If mentally “taking in” the surrounding world, so to speak, is the necessary preliminary to activity of the imagination, it is not to be denied that the latter has a retroactive effect upon the formation of the judgment, and upon the reasoning processes (*Urteil und Schluss*). Imagination is like the locomotive steam-boiler which provides ever new energy, while the intelligence is, in a certain sense, like the constant water-supply which guards against overheating, and at the same time the brake which prevents derailment. Thus characterized by this reciprocal interplay of forces, with now one tendency coming forward into prominence, now the other, the intellectual and emotional life of the infant unrolls itself before our gaze. Over against the realistic element in his make-up, which leads the little child to grasp things as they are, to test their practical value and judge them accordingly, there stands, in striking contrast, the idealistic, the dreaming element which urges him to spin himself into a web of ideas which have nothing in common with reality except certain central points (*Kerne*). He is inclined, from earliest days, to investigate things over-critically, to brood over them; he loves, at times, to shut himself away from playmates and to live in a dream-world which he knows how to guard with anxious care from the gaze of strangers. But even at his early age the experience acquired under the supervision of the intelligence is accepted as controller of the imagination. Only under conditions of morbid over-excitement does phantasy free herself from these confining fetters. With the normally endowed child reason retains the supremacy in order not to let the little builder of air-castles forget

that the most beautiful dreams vanish before reality; in spite of that, the youthful idealist collides with the hard things of everyday life far more frequently than does the realist, who takes things in a matter-of-fact way as they present themselves to him. In this natural endowment of the child lies the nucleus of the future directive power of the mind, the tendencies that later are to determine his choice of a vocation and his attitude toward the universe as a whole. But this natural endowment is of importance for the sexual interests also. Certain influences and tendencies that are significant for the life of men and animals alike remain unnoticed by the dreamy child much longer than by the practical child. The latter, it is true, is satisfied comparatively easily with an explanation which seems sensible to him; but the child given to meditation thinks the explanation over; imagination twines its entangling tendrils around the truth, and in the child's little head the true and the false become confused, giving rise to a state of chaos in which it is hard for him to get his bearings. The conflict for supremacy between reason and imagination is clearly evident, not only as between different individuals, but also in one and the same child. Occupation, environment, the occurrences of family-life influence mental development (*die Richtung des Geisteslebens*) to a remarkable extent; and a child who in the midst of the busy whirl of the doings at home feels practical interest in everything may appear to be a wholly different sort of person when transferred to the quiet environment of his grandparents' home. The tranquility of old age, to which he is unaccustomed; the many objects belonging to a period of time of which he knows nothing, a time of which grandmother has so much to tell, so much that is beautiful and like a fairy-story—all represent influences that work powerfully upon the imagination of the child. All at once, out of the realist is made a quiet dreamer who sees the house full of the ghosts of by-gone days.

The practical proof of intelligence in the very little child comes in his making a selection from among the objects offered him. As in early infancy, so also in the play-period, the understanding exercises a certain choice with regard to the matters brought before it. While one child has an eye for color especially, and soon learns to recognize by their colors the various things he sees, to distinguish between them and to take pleasure in them, another directs his whole attention to the form, and a third may prefer to listen to tones and to sounds, and to found his judgment on these attributes, whereas color and form are of little interest to him. Thus the ob-

servation of the direction in which the intelligence is especially active when the child is very young permits one to draw justifiable conclusions as to special qualifications and as to the probable choice of future vocation—although just in this field radical changes often show themselves during puberty. Musical endowment, for example, manifests itself in the early, attentive catching of tones and of rhythm, in a strong emotional reaction to music, in a preference for musical toys. On the other hand, my nephew, who, even now in his seventh year, cares nothing for hearing his mother play the piano, showed the same tendency in his second year, and showed it by refusing warbling-bird toys; and a chime of small bells interested him only when another person had appropriated it—envy serving as the only motive for his occasional pleasure in sound. The boy's mother, however, took intense delight in music. With both—mother and son alike—the influence of a close personal relationship to the mother has played an important rôle in determining this liking and disliking of music. When the boy, who is extremely lively, is obliged to occupy himself alone and to preserve silence, while his mother is playing the pianoforte, he feels curtailed of maternal affection. Once, in his sixth year, he suddenly began to weep softly to himself, and being asked the reason, he explained, between sobs: "I cannot bear it when mother plays the piano. The stupid piano-playing!" The child's mother herself, on the contrary, thought of her own mother's piano-playing as a manifestation of affection toward her, and often begged for it at the twilight hour. The paths which even the child's intelligence follows in its development are traced for it by its native endowment and also by influences related to the emotional life (*Gemütsleben*), as anyone can see who observes school-children. A clever mother knows how to take advantage of these strong emotional tendencies in the mental life (*Geistesleben*) of the child by appealing to his affection for her, as a means of keeping him straight when admonition proves of no avail. Rarely does the mother's call, "Do it for love of me," fail to win response. The development of the intellectual powers depends in so great measure upon that of feeling that the latter forms the *sine qua non* for the former, in earliest childhood. I think with pity of all those many children to whom the wonders of the world around them remain closed because of the lack of tender ministration on the part of adults; as in immediate connection with this deprivation such children frequently show a retardation in speech-development, a backwardness independent of organic causes. In short, the more generous

the love which is lavished upon a child during his first year, the more satisfactorily does he develop, not only as regards his temperament but also in his intellectual life (*Verstandesleben*).

It is of special psychological interest to watch the child's conceptions of space and of time in process of formation; both of them become developed in closest conjunction with the emotional life (*Gefühlsleben*). It is through the discipline of pain that the child learns to distinguish his body from the world outside; and discovers, through all the opportunities offered him, that there are limits which he cannot pass without the danger of disaster, physical and mental. When a child's parents forbid him to pass certain boundaries, or when he finds himself physically unable to reach this or that distant object, he gains an experience which gives him new ideas of limitation and distance, while the gradual perfection of his visual powers makes him aware of the infinite extension of space. The pleasurable muscular activity which expresses itself through catching and climbing leads the child to distinguish between up and down and between high and low. These conceptions, to which the childish intellect thus gives as real a value as its capacity permits, become fixed through a growing familiarity with numbers, even when these are used with great looseness. "The sky is 100,000 cm.—no, it is 1,000,000 kilograms high; the ocean is 20 m. deep," are statements characteristic of a four-year-old. As soon as the child has formed an idea of space, he begins to measure things with a centimeter-stick, to weigh them on scales, and to find their value in money. In doing that, of course those objects come first in order which stand nearest to the child's interest. "How long is the apple-fritter (*Apfelstrudel*) when it is unrolled?" "If one could measure *Drücki* (*feces*), how long would it be?"—or the same question in the form of repression, "Tell me truly,—how long are the intestines (*Darm*)?" With boys, as we have already heard, there comes also the question as to the length of the genital member in the case of animals and of men. The habit of measuring things in play is more pronounced upon the whole, with boys than with girls, in early youth; and it is natural and probable that its deepest and most strongly repressed and secret root lies in the interest in their own sex-organs from the size-standpoint, and in the comparison of them with those of other boys. Pleasure in such occupation explains, too, why boys—as a rule—acquire a real familiarity with numbers and figures earlier than do girls, who, in spite of great general intelligence, frequently show a considerable lack of understanding of these

matters during the first school period. At the end of his sixth year, Scupin's little son already did sums in addition and in subtraction by himself; and my six-year-old nephew multiplies and divides without effort with numbers up to twenty, although the simplest tasks in arithmetic drew bitter tears from his mother even at the end of her seventh year, while at five and a half years she could read fluently. Boys show a pronounced preference for massive and, in particular, for longish objects. Canes count directly as symbols of manhood, and the same motive is also to be considered as constituting the attraction of other objects of relatively elongated form.¹ Thus boys love to build towers and carry them to dizzy heights, to make their tunnels and their railroad trains as long as possible; and, in short, the larger and the longer the self-made plaything is, the prouder is the little boy. The Scupins note in regard to their child in the ninth month of his sixth year, as follows:² "The same statement holds true of his use of modeling-wax that we made of drawing—'Everything on which special value is placed, and of which he is right proud, grows to an unusual size under his hands.'" Another connection between sexual feelings and processes and the interests of childhood, analogous to that which has to do with the length and size of objects, is perhaps to be detected in the fondness for throwing and shooting objects—a tendency which according to Darwin is innate in the boy. Darwin's view contains much that is of interest, especially when one conceives of this inborn tendency to throw objects as indicative of an unconscious activity of the sex-instinct (*Geschlechtstrieb*), in general, and of one of its components, the so-called sadism, in particular. As a matter of fact, the aggressiveness of the boy, his constant readiness to wrestle with someone, to put other people down (subjection)—these things are but preparations for his future conduct (*Verhalten*) during the marriage-act (*Geschlechtsakt*). In the same way, the act of casting something at an object, aiming at something, could be considered as a symbol of erection, which may occur even at a youthful age, and is taken cognizance of in dreams, where long, pointed objects stand for the virile member. In harmony with the inborn pleasure in throwing things stands the boy's propensity to fill up every hollow, the wish to put the finger into every opening. When out for walks in the country, the boy "O"—twenty-one months old—passed by no hole

¹ This statement might seem meaningless to many persons, but not to those who know the history of phallic symbolism, in its ancient and its modern form. (Trans.)

² Scupin, l. c., p. 207.

in garden fences, no pipe from a spring of water, without introducing his mother's right fore-finger into the same, as she told me, unconscious of the concealed significance of this expression. The same boy when between two and three years of age gave his mother "tongue-kisses" and once, in making love to her, he declared: "Mutti, I would like to stick my Wiwimacher (membrum) into your mouth." So it seems that the impulse to fill up holes is also atavistically inherent in the boy. To this impulse, indeed, is to be ascribed the boyish inclination to make caves and to hide treasures in them. As a rule, this form of play is less frequently indulged in by girls; and when it is taken up, it is probably to be regarded simply as an indication of anal-and-urethral erotism or of early masturbation. Also the child-practice of boring into the nose is both a transference (*Verschiebung*) of a forbidden form of self-gratification to a "harmless" zone, and with boys is the realization of the wish to penetrate an opening as deeply as possible.

For all children, boys as well as girls, at a certain age, very small objects have a special interest. Tiny dolls, carriages, ornaments, and wearing articles excite the child's fond admiration; and as a rule the smallest animals are to him the object of the most devoted attention and affection. Perhaps this fondness flows from an auto-erotic source; for it is noticeable how the child, in playing with diminutive things, strikes exactly that note of tenderness and of intimacy with which his mother pets and cares for him. On the same principle, if he possesses or sees several objects of the same kind but different in size, he does not hesitate to call them mother and child—or to designate himself as "parent" and the little bird before him as "child." Little Scupin,³ in his fourth year, showed his preference for the smaller animals just as clearly as did my nephew, who fell into a state of great delight when a lady-bird alighted on his arm. Since children frequently, at this period of life, have not yet learned to feel disgust, their affection for small objects extends to caterpillars, beetles, and worms. As a child of six years, I let toads jump on my hand; and with joyful excitement, I watched their comical hopping about. On the part of all children, the selective preference which falls upon round objects, especially those spherical in form, can be easily explained from the widespread infantile coprophilism; indeed, there are not a few children who by keeping back (restraining) the "stools" provide themselves with a veritable pastime in the final production of such forms as

³ Scupin, I. c., II, p. 112.

they please (beliebiger Formen). At four years of age, the little boy, "O," boasted that he could "make" whatever he wished.⁴

From gradually grasping the idea of space the infantile intelligence is led on to the consideration of the important question, "Where do things come from and whither do they go?"—which question, in the last analysis, always aims at the origin of human beings, and also impels to meditation on the end of life, to thoughts on "dying" and on "death," and in connection with that to pondering on religious questions. To the small child the disappearance of things is a mystery which finds a solution if it is a matter within the direct range of the senses, but remains inexplicable as soon as the space in which the events took place extends beyond the boundaries of infantile familiarity. Sully⁵ relates of a little child how at sight of the ebbing sea he pondered in vain on the question, "To what place is the sea swimming off?" At four and a half years of age, my nephew queried thus: "If no more men were to die, where would the people live? How many people would have to live in one room? in one apartment? in one house? Do people die so that those that remain may have more room?" And when, at six years of age, he saw the water-gates (Regulierungsbauten) on the Wien, the old thought emerged again within him, "If one could draw off all the rivers and seas, so that they would flow under the ground, then no one else would need to die; then there would be room for everybody." Not to speak here of the fact that at bottom these speculations are displacements of questions which rest on sexual curiosity (Verschiebungsfragen), his strong anal-and-urethral erotism tends constantly to break out in these reflections and causes him to discuss in detail all the eventualities having relation to that interest. It is from motives such as this that the childish attention becomes so fixed upon moving water, and, in general, upon everything that moves. To the child the flowing of water is an eternal mystery, something forever involved in obscurity. To fathom "the whence" and to discover "the whither" remains an endless delight to him—whether the special problem be to find this out about a spring (which, indeed, he does not regard as a real "source," *i. e.*, as not itself caused) or to peer into the depths of a water-conductor. When we consider

⁴ *The idea* that just as food goes into the body "dead" yet becomes there the source of life, so the "dead," clay-like products of digestion are set apart to stand again, eventually, in important relations to life (as is literally true) *has played a very significant part* in ancient mythology and the mythology of childhood. (Trans.)

⁵ Sully, *l. c.*, p. 70.

that myth and dream designate the earth as "mother," then we recognize very soon that in constantly seeking the source of water there lives the unconscious wish of the boy to see how the woman, the mother, performs the necessary duties in attending to her bodily needs; or the subconscious wish of the little girl comes into play to discover how the man, her father, does the same. From that desire comes the demand of boys to be taken by the mother into the toilet-room with her, and also the habit of listening outside the door. As "the whence" and "the whither" of flowing water is a mystery to the child, so too the *quantity* of the water seems to be a strange thing. At five years of age, little Scupin⁶ wondered how it happened that after he had just spit, yet as much saliva was there again immediately. Spitting is a game which never loses its fascination for children. To spit much and far, "just as a man does," is the ambition of all lads, and naturally is to be regarded as unconscious substitution for a sexual act.

In the early-appearing delight of the child over things in motion there lies also, undoubtedly, a bit of muscle-erotism as well as of sadism. The former expresses itself in unconscious imitation of the movement seen; the latter (sadism) in the instinctive desire to prevent it—into which will and purpose enter. From sadism comes also the seeming infantile cruelty towards flies on the window-pane, towards beetles, butterflies, etc. The fondness of children for the moon—a fondness quite common—has its origin, in great part, from the pleasure-accented perception of its relatively fast movement.

To fathom the depths of space, especially of enclosed space, to find an answer to the question, "How does this look inside?" (a form of curiosity which, with intelligent children above all others, gives rise to a passion for destroying things) is connected perhaps with memory-traces of the intra-uterine state. The different sex-theories with the aid of which the child is determined to solve the problem of our coming into existence, the mystery of "the becoming" (*des Werdens*), assist in attributing to the interiors of enclosed spaces as such, a very special significance. Any hidden mechanism of a toy—designed for regulating the motion of a motor, the opening and shutting of a doll's eyes, the crying and talking of the doll—with its apparent power of awakening movement and life, is instinctively looked on as furnishing an analogy to the power which accounts for the origination of the human being within the mother's body. It may perhaps be urged that the infantile curiosity to inves-

⁶ Scupin, I. c., II, p. 206.

tigate the interior of things has in it nothing of the sexual, for curiosity may be directed also to entirely unoffending objects. But once in a while the very remarks of the child show most clearly the real mental process. A five-year-old little girl of whom I know, who has been told of the development of the child in the uterus, and also about the young of animals, holds dolly up to her ear in order to hear whether a baby is in its body. And my nephew, at four years of age, had a toy "Dackel" and was determined to find out whether perhaps two young Dackel were not sewed in there. And another four-year-old boy also, who, it is true, knew that the mother animal "carries" its young—but a boy from whom the analogous processes in the human being had been anxiously kept concealed—put a small locomotive inside a large one with the words, "There! the old engine is going to have a child, and so must not go so fast." Thus, as soon as certain observations have been made by the child, in connection with men and animals, the idea of space becomes a most important factor in his speculations. But the thoughts so aroused acquire new meaning through becoming associated with another process—that of digestion. For just because the process of digestion is remote from the child's direct observation, it becomes a source of interest. "Mamma, can one never get a chance to see how food and water roll around in the stomach?" And a five-year-old boy whose uncle had undergone an operation for appendicitis, asked him, after his recovery, "Uncle, did you see the Bää (feces) in your stomach?"

From the conception of space the infantile perceptive-faculty proceeds slowly, over the bridge of "number," to the conception of time. For a long while "time" remains obscure to the infantile mind, being something to which he adjusts himself with difficulty. At the beginning of his third year, Scupin's little son⁷ used "to-day" for the words "immediately," "at once." At the end of the same year he used "yesterday" for "a short time ago" (just now). Not until his fifth year⁸ did he distinguish between morning, noon, and evening with any degree of clearness. But still the evident dependence of the conception of time upon concrete impressions—such as the daily meals—is noticeable. In the alternation—emotionally toned—of sleep and the waking-life, in the regular return of the hours for meals, we must recognize important factors for the formation of the idea of time. With little Scupin,⁹ too, the spatial conception

⁷ Scupin, I. c., pp. 113 u. 156.

⁸ Scupin, I. c., p. 107.

⁹ Scupin, I. c., II, p. 157.

of time is found. In his sixth year, he asks, "Is an hour so long?"—holding his hands apart perhaps half a meter. Making time concrete occurs, on the one side, from watching the hands of the clock moving on the dial-plate; and on the other side, from the fact of the growth of the child's body with increasing years. Sully mentions a four-year-old little girl who asked, "Where has yesterday gone?" and "Where does to-morrow come from?"; also a five-year-old boy who wanted to know, "Where does past time go to?" and "Why are other days always coming?" My nephew thought he saw in the Ferris-wheel in the Prater an image of time. The child's effort to conform time to something occupying space leads to the most charming personifications. "Does the clock feel how time is pushing her?" "Where is time sitting in the clock?" Little "O," at five years, queried untiringly, "If the clock stands still, does time stand still too?" Ans.: "No, if the clock stands still at twelve, noon, and if no one sets the clock until evening, but the clock-hands still stand at twelve, in the meantime it has grown quite dark." "Yes, for other people; but for that clock it is (surely) only twelve o'clock." "Why cannot time be weighed?" asked the four-year-old son of a grocer; and just before Christmas my nephew bemoaned the fact that he could not "eat time, so that it would become *less* faster." Such expressions as the following show a strong naturalistic conception: "Is the sun time?" and "I have seen time when I have been blinking at the sun. The long rays are time." Not only dream-symbolism but also poetry teaches us to bring the intensive infantile interest in time and in the clock into relation with the problem of life and death; thus W. Stekel quotes¹⁰ a humorous passage from L. Finkh's autobiographical work, "Rapunzel," a passage in which the clock is used as the symbol of life. The apprehension of relatively long periods of time gives special difficulty. The infantile explanation, "a day is when papa comes home at night and plays 'tag' with me" conceals, as the reason for such a division of time, the longing for the father (who is absent all day) and springs from the child's longing for affection, just as does the explanation, "a year is when the Christ-child comes again," or as the custom of counting the days before the Christmas festival—"after so and so many times waking in the morning, Christmas will be here." We see how, in this instance also, the emotional side of the child's life assists in inducing clearness about even the ideas of the most com-

¹⁰ Stekel, *Die Uhr als Symbol des Lebens*, Zentralblatt f. Psychoanalyse, II, 5.

plex sorts. The great lack of certainty in conceiving of the greater divisions of time is shown particularly in the child's views on age. Years which go beyond the period of childhood appear to him excessive; but in spite of that, he does not hesitate to lay such a burden of years to the charge of relatively young people; and this happens usually—that is the important point—when the persons concerned are not especial child-lovers. In like sense is also to be interpreted the persistence with which my nephew has refused to admit that mamma and auntie have grown older in the past four years, although he has celebrated their birthdays with great delight each year and has recognized with pride his own increase in age. For the beloved persons of his environment, time, in his calendar, stands still; yet, on the other hand, he likes to compute how old they will be (measuring from four years ago) when he himself gets to be twenty or thirty years old. To make this sort of reckoning is a labor of the intelligence alone; it is a kind of computation into which feeling does not enter. In the other case it was probably his unconscious thoughts that prevented him from letting those persons who stand near him grow any older; since he thinks that people die exactly according to the number of their years. At least, the following expression seems to imply that,—“Good! Auntie H—— is two years younger than mother; then she will die two years later, and then I shall have her two years longer.”

To the child “time” appears as the sovereign remedy for bodily defects and diseases. This conception is probably an imitatively acquired one in most cases. In the winter of his fourth year of life, when my nephew, during a railroad journey, sat opposite a man with a large bald spot, suddenly the child said to his mother, “Mutti, the gentleman's hair will grow out again in the summer, won't it?”

The power—always gradually acquired—to understand what is meant by the passing of time, is based on the memory of experiences marked by feeling (an gefühlbetonte Erlebnisse). And since it corresponds more with the joyous spirit of the child for him to remember what has brought him pleasure, it is natural that especially happy occurrences should become milestones in the reckoning of time, while painful impressions leave their traces, for the most part, only in the unconscious, and form the cast of mind characteristic of later years. One might urge, to be sure, as against this view, that the illnesses of early childhood must form a part of the permanent deposit in the treasury of memory, that frequently time is divided

into the period before the illness and the period after it; and that to the child illness does not mean a pleasant experience. But when one takes into consideration that the parents' greatest love and care fall to the lot of the sick child, and that in his suffering he feels himself the very center of interest of the family, then it must be admitted that for the child sickness covers much that is delightful, many agreeable experiences that he remembers throughout life.

Through the power of memory and that of imagination (which has the power of peering into the future) there are developed slowly the conceptions of "past" and "future" with their connecting-link "the present." In the life of every child there arrives the moment when his mind begins to occupy itself with the problem of eternity. Mental labors of this sort are usually reserved for later childhood, it is true, and yet such metaphysical questions often rise into consciousness, even in the play-period. When my nephew, at five years, once declared that he would keep a particularly precious toy forever, of his own accord he asked the question, "What is 'forever,' really? How long does it last?" And he cut short his philosophical speculations with the explanation: "Yes, yes! I know. 'Forever' doesn't mean forever, truly. When Aunt Minna wants me to stop hammering, she says, 'Stop your everlasting (ewig) hammering!' But when my papa does not come back any more, that is 'forever' (ewig)." Thus the boy's reasoning-power makes a fine distinction between that which only lasts too long and that which lasts without end. The question of a six-year-old little girl bears witness to a like understanding of the matter. She heard her mother complaining that the servant was "an eternal length of time" coming home from her marketing, and asked, "Mother, isn't Anna coming back any more, or do you mean that only in fun?" With increasing intelligence there awakens in the child a comprehension of the unreality (non-substantiality) of time; but it often takes years before this recognition becomes so firmly fixed that it is not disturbed, again and again, by the wish to "see" time.

In close relation with the development of the ideas of space and of time, stands that of growth, which again through its connection with birth and death (*dem Werden und Vergehen*, origin and disappearance) is usually of the greatest interest to the child. To watch plants germinate, to see their growth, is an ardent wish of many children and naturally springs from that desire to see the human being come into existence and grow. The great fondness for those plants which open their calyxes in the evening is a mask-

ing of the infantile longing to watch the mystery of "the becoming." The fulfilment of this desire gives thrills of delight, all of which is reflected in the child's bodily functions; his way of moving from one foot to the other, his flushed cheeks, his excited whispering as if a loud word might cause Nature's beautiful game to cease, show clearly that the child takes a subconscious pleasure in such processes as symbolizing the creative act of birth. And so, too, does the mysterious existence and spontaneous unfolding of a maturing butterfly-pupa seem to him as a manifest birth act, and as such a legitimate object of his eager interest. The miracle of growth is one that forever maintains its charm for the childish mind; indeed, imagination makes growth take place in lifeless things; imagination magnifies growth where it is scarcely perceptible; and the child's impatience turns up the soil after cotyledons even before they have had time to develop from the seed. This strong joy of the senses, this pleasure in the growth of plants, is expressed in the child's demand to have a garden of his own, a flower-bed, or even a single flower-pot to which a seed can be entrusted. I remember, from the early days of my childhood, how the discovery took my breath away that my seedlings had loosened the little clods of earth and at last had sent up delicate shoots toward the daylight; and even into adult years I remained captured by the fancy of seeing plants as human beings. To such children the idea that the body of the woman opens itself gradually, from the navel as a center, like the earth clods, in order that the baby may see the light of day, offers a plausible explanation of the birth-process.

Just as the beginning and the origin of all life is an inexhaustible source of pleasure to the child's mind, as well as to his imagination, he occupies himself no less with life's end, or exit—with dying and death. To him "dying" means nothing else than a temporary standstill of the life-functions, in particular of movement; indeed, he transfers "dying" to objects in themselves lifeless, but which he is not accustomed to see at rest. "The brook is dead" declared my nephew, when he saw, for the first time, a sheet of ice on the water. This conception, so childlike, receives strong support from the various games, played by adults with children, which involve the idea of the former being "shot dead." In regard to this point Scupin's diary contains the following fine description taken from E. Wolfgang's thirty-third month: "With the words, 'Mamma is dead' his mother threw herself on the floor. This filled the boy with pleasure, and he crept up to her to inspect her; but when she

did not move he grew uncomfortable and began to pull her and to call to her imploringly, 'Do get up, Mamma! I'll help you to get up; I'll help you. You are not dead. Why don't you get up?'" My nephew, too, who, between his third year and his fifth, loved to "shoot dead" the people near him, could not endure their lying motionless for more than a brief time, and greeted the least blinking of the eyelids with the joyful cry, "You are not dead. You winked." This expression of joy when the "make believe" dead person awakes is the reverse-side of the impulses of hostility from which no child is free and which are to be regarded as the very root of the infantile thoughts about death and dying. The manifold little renunciations that are required of him, the rejections of some of his untimely demonstrations of affection, the apparent or real preference shown for one of the other children of the family—all these provocations are sufficient to mingle feelings of momentary hatred with his love for father and mother, brothers and sisters, and for other members of the household. These hostile feelings make the removal of the disturber of his peace an event very, very much to be desired. And so there arises a second conception of death. This conception springs from the child's wish not to be hampered in carrying out all kinds of forbidden performances, and, as a means to that end, to wish out of the way (absent) the persons who might hamper him; and the same wish extends often to those whom he looks on as standing in his light or infringing his rights in respect to the affection of beloved people. In a short article in which I tried to throw light upon the attitude of the child with regard to the fact of death—"The Child and his Idea of Death" (*Imago*, I, Heft 3)—I cited a number of observations which brilliantly confirm Freud's opinion that to the child "being dead" means no more than a removal in the above sense.¹¹

Mixed in with the infantile ideas in regard to death, one finds the germs (*Keime*) of compassion and of cruelty. Perhaps the latter springs in part also from a strong muscle-erotism. It is not alone active deeds of cruelty that speak in favor of this view, but also the behavior of many children upon *beholding* scenes of cruelty in which they take no active part. It is surely something more than simple imitation that induces a child, when he sees a worm writhing under the foot of another person, to cry out, "Let me do it! Let me

¹¹ That is, removal from the position of even seeming to sit in judgment on thoughts and acts that the child himself feels to be open to adverse criticism, yet longs to carry on. (Trans.)

do it!" and then himself to stamp upon the worm with obvious pleasure. It is something more than imitation that makes the child who has been spectator of a fight that has gone beyond the bounds of play, unconsciously to ball his own fists and strike the nearest object or perhaps his own body, especially when someone whom he does not like is taking part in the fray. And what else can it be but muscle-erotism that inspires the shouts of encouragement on the part of boys who witness a fray in which they have no personal concern? The mingling of cruelty and compassion in the child's soul was expressed clearly in the remark of little Scupin about a muck-beetle which he had trodden half to death, that he had "made it a little dead." The child feels himself, at one and the same time, lord over life and death. In his hand it lies to do away with the state of death-stillness, to waken some apparently lifeless creature out of its sleep; and he feels truly distressed and saddened when he does not succeed in this. It is difficult for us to judge when the right understanding of the tragedy of death awakens in the child; but it would certainly mean an undervaluing of the tendency on the part of the child to turn from one interest to another, if we assumed that the sadness, the strange stillness which funerals cause in a family affect him permanently. Just in consequence of this relative instability of mind, the young child will momentarily succumb to the effect of the mournful rites; but the way in which these—for him—novel experiences are made use of in play gives proof that the real, profound solemnity of death is still incomprehensible to the child. Thus the tears shed over a dead pet from the animal world dry up as soon as the preparations for the burial are made. From two peasant boys their mother finally had to take away a dead squirrel because they had buried it five times in one forenoon. In his story entitled "*Von Kindern und Katzen, und wie sie den Nine begruben,*" Th. Storm describes similar scenes from child-life. And Otto Ernst does the same in his delicate, humorous notes from "*Appelschnuts Leben.*" The natural light-heartedness of the child can indeed be smothered by an unexpected, sad impression; but soon—fed by his inexhaustible, sunny reservoir of cheerfulness—the glad rays break forth again from the child's eyes to brighten everything gloomy and terrible. Certainly death is a mystery to the child, but his "unconscious" knows how to keep at a distance from itself the true melancholy solution of the problem. The little child whose mother has died asks after her ten times a day and wishes to carry his cares to her as formerly; sorely disappointed, he turns back to his play to forget in the very next moment how forsaken he is.

For the little philosopher it is only a step from thoughts about death to the metaphysical questions, "What happens after death?" "Where do people go?" "Is there a heaven for animals?" "Do people become angels, and then do these come down to earth again as little babies?" A four-year-old little girl was of the opinion that this is so. "For," she maintained, "there cannot be room in heaven for so many angels." The old and commonplace witticism that asks how the fallen warriors will recognize their own shot-off limbs at the resurrection-day, occupies the child's mind in all seriousness; and not seldom the first doubts concerning the words of the Holy Scriptures originate from this dilemma. In addition, there comes the gradual perception of what is untrue in the many deceptive bits of information and in the evasive statements of persons high in authority. The declaration of a little boy whose mother summoned him to evening-prayer ran as follows, "Ah, mamma! The stork story is not true, the Christ-child story is not true either, so the story about 'the dear God' must be nothing, too."¹² This is a fine illustration of how the child's faith gets shaky if a single pillar of the structure breaks down. The act of meditating upon the absolute beginning of all things culminates in the question, "Who made the dear God?" Sully writes,¹³ "To the child's metaphysical impulse to follow the chain of events backward into the infinite, the ever-present God stands very much in the way. The child wishes to get behind this 'was always' of the existence of God, just exactly as, in an earlier stage of development, he wanted to get behind the boundaries of the blue mountains. This idea is made clear through the inferential reasoning of a child observed by Egger. After the child had heard from his mother that before the world was, only God the Creator was there, came the question, 'And before God?' The answer, 'Nothing,' the child explained at once by saying: 'No, the place where God is (namely, the vacant space, the void) must have been there.'" From the natural progress of the child's intellectual development there results the desire to make abstract ideas concrete; for that reason, in all places and times, the question of the little realist is repeated, "Why can one not see the dear God?" To see God in all His glory—this is the constant longing of the child-mind (Kinderseele) with its idealistic endowment and trend.

¹² "Was Kinder sagen und fragen," von einer Grossmamma gesammelt—Verlag Piper, München.

¹³ Sully, I. c., p. 110.

It was out of such agitating desires as these, felt in his own childhood, that Hebbel's genius created the poem, "Bubensonntag."¹⁴

The myths of primitive peoples show that praying to God signifies, at bottom, the recognition of fatherly authority; and, as a matter of fact, the imagination of children lends to the mental image of God the features of the child's own father. The words "incomprehensible peculiarity" explain but poorly how it happens that an extremely wide-awake five-year-old boy—who at three years of age had lost his father—should play with wildest joy during the day, but at night offer endless prayers to God "with Whom his dear papa lives, and Who knows everything." Here the boy's own father occupies the place next to the Heavenly Father; and it is not to be wondered at that this boy, as an officer's son, should ascribe to God the highest military honors.¹⁵ Religious doubts grow deeper when the child becomes aware of differences of opinion at home. Indeed, he is keen to detect the existence of such differences—when they exist—without their being expressed in words. In the presence of this conflict of minds his decision naturally falls in favor of the more strongly loved parent. And because the boy cleaves to his mother, as a rule, the girl to her father, and the former (parent) frequently inclines more fervently to the dogmas and customs of the Church than the latter does, therefore one finds not seldom that boys enter a religious path in early youth and that their minds take a direction obviously inconsistent with their unruly nature. This religious turn of mind puts its special impress upon games; and at this period boys like "playing church" and "saying mass"—in doing which, following the impulse of the man to rule the woman, such boys demand evidences of deep "devotion" from the female attendants at church services. The play of little girls, on the other hand, is more apt to represent festive processions where there are bright flowing garments and wreaths of beautiful flowers; and funeral rites also excite the fancy.

Just as the person of God becomes an object of speculation, and very soon the center of doubt, so—before long—His attributes also are questioned about by the intelligent child. In the transference

¹⁴ Hebbel, *Sämtliche Werke*, Bd. 5.

¹⁵ Otto Ernst, *Asmus Sempers Jugendland*, I Kap.: "For his father was exactly like the dear God, whom he had seen in a picture—the same broad forehead with a magnificent thick growth of gray hair about it, the same strong nose, the same full beard which let the entire mouth be seen, that mouth from which had come almost everything good and beautiful which Asmus had experienced as yet."

from the father "who knows everything and can do everything" it seems natural to the child, as a general thing, to take for granted equal excellencies in the case of God. It points to an early disappointment in the expectations set upon the father when a little boy who, at three or three and a half years of age, is to be brought to the important immediate duty of saying his prayers,¹⁶ resists these efforts with the frank declaration, "But I do not want to know about the dear God." I do not believe that Goltz's view of this (incident) gives an adequate motivation for it. He says: "The poor little learner might not have been made better by all those arguments, by all that dialectical confusion; and since he had sufficient intuition to perceive how unprofitable (mentally) the high tower of logic was from the very foundation," therefore he refused to meet the religious requirement so contrary to his desires, and he did so in true child fashion. The child has such a deep interest in everything supernatural and mystic that only very strong impressions, of an intimate nature, are able to evoke such a violent refusal as the above. The human being believes in "the wonderful," "the mystical" as long as he wishes to believe in it. This is true in childhood as well as in adulthood. The belief in the existence of God meets with far less resistance than does that of His omnipresence. That is the attribute which is the most disconcerting thing to the child-mind about the idea of God. The question of a six-year-old little girl, "When is the dear God going to die?" contains perhaps in a nut-shell the wish to escape His omnipresent, all-seeing eye. This thought, to which the child gave herself in almost morbid brooding, matured within her the belief that whenever there was absolute quiet in Nature, especially when oppressive stillness reigned before a thunder-storm, then this disconcerting experience of feeling oneself under the watchful eye of God took place—then God was regarding her. Perhaps this association of ideas is the origin of the excessive fear which the child showed, in later years, during very severe thunder-storms. It is significant that the fear appeared most strongly whenever her father was absent from home. The fear was fed by the thought that he might be struck by lightning. Her first severe anxiety-attack occurred at the beginning of the child's seventh year on a day when she was afraid of being punished and when her father took home in a carriage a child who had been making her a visit; and he made the ride while a heavy thunder-shower was going on. We know from psychoanalytic investigation that excessive fear

¹⁶ Goltz, l. c., p. 266.

springs from the repression of a forbidden wish—that is to say, in this particular instance, from the wish that an accident might happen to the father so that the child would go unpunished. To this I must add the fact that a constant watch was kept over the children of this family and was felt by them as almost unbearable. Indeed, that very same little girl tried to withdraw from this constant oversight by retiring to the most remote corners of the house and garden; therefore her objection to Divine omnipresence seems entirely natural. If, as a rule, doubt in the goodness and righteousness of God is reserved for the mind (*Verstand*) of the larger (older) child to struggle with, yet the little one too—thanks to the strength of his healthy egoism—does not fail to recognize how often the taking of vengeance, which seems to him the only right course of action, is not included in the measures (of discipline) approved and exercised by God. To the pious child, it seems incomprehensible how God's justice can permit so much evil to happen on the earth and go unpunished. "Why did the dear God let the houses of those poor people burn down?" asks a five-year-old little girl when she is taken by her father to the place where a village is in ashes. When she sees the many distressed people, she inquires,—“Will He not at least send them something to eat and to wear?” And the reply of an old peasant,—“My dear child, the dear God is (exists) for the rich; He does not trouble himself about us”—that reply robs the little girl of a part of her blessed child-faith.

Earlier yet in his life, before the child doubts the existence of God, belief in angels and their office as guardians begins to totter. “Where was my guardian-angel then?” said a six-year-old little boy falteringly when he was borne home from the skating-rink with a broken leg. And the truly infantile idea of the “home authority” of the dear Lord God over His family in heaven was shown in the question, “Will the dear God punish my guardian angel because he did not watch better over me?” During the long period of lying still for weeks, this idea soon experienced a change. One evening the boy announced: “Mamma, I’m not going to pray any more. I don’t believe there are any guardian-angels.” And then he added immediately: “Or is it true, after all?” The child does not wish to say good-bye to his beautiful phantasies. Only reluctantly will he part with the tranquillizing thought that his life is protected and watched over by an angel from heaven; for in giving up that idea he gives up the thought of protecting care and his own feeling of safety; and to the “emotional soul” of the child, protection signifies

love. So in forsaking his dear belief in the existence of angels or of God, a profound disappointment underlies it all. Perhaps that is the first disappointment in the child's life. All the little bitter-nesses which training and (social) custom spare no child are brought together at the same time and also find expression in that disappointment. They form a little pile of distresses, so to speak. Ill-pleased, his soul turns away from the invisible Supreme Being, which a child can dispense with in early childhood days much easier than he can with the earthly "ministering angels" in his home.

(To be continued)

ABSTRACTS

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1. Some Similarities in the Mental Life of Primitive and Neurotic People—IV. The Infantile Return of Totemism. SIGM. FREUD.
2. Nakedness in Saga and Poetry—II. OTTO RANK.

1. *The Infantile Return of Totemism.*—Freud here discusses totemism merely as one of the elements entering into the origin of religion. The importance of totemism is shown in the survival of traces of it in many of the observances and usages of modern society. For the understanding of the underlying principles he turns to Frazer's Totemism and Exogamy, although psychoanalytic interpretation may still differ from his presentation. A totem is a material object to whom the savage grants a superstitious reverence and with which there is a mutual relationship of protection toward the man on the part of the totem and a peculiar guardianship and preservation of the totem on the part of the clan to which it belongs. The totem object also binds the members of a clan together as descendants of a common ancestor having common duties and a mutual belief in their totem.

Traces of the religious and social significance of totemism seem to point back to a time when these two elements were inseparable, when the clan organization was dependent upon the common totem. The consideration of the totem as the source of origin of the clan led to the taboos against the use of the totem object as food or other form of enjoyment by the clan to which it belonged. Taboos even against touching it or looking upon it, which were liable to an automatic punishment by sickness or death, reveal the fearful reverence in which it was held. The totem object was mourned and propitiated like a true member of the clan. The totem on its part was supposed to protect its clan and serve as a supernatural power in the affairs of the clan. This rela-

tionship with the totem was an object of emphasis with the members of the clan, through ceremonies of identification, and moreover the totem was offered in a sacrificial death. The social side of totemism manifested itself in rigid taboo and an extensive restriction. Mutual protection of the clan members and revenge were required on the one hand and strict marriage and sexual taboo within the clan on the other, clan membership exceeding strict family relationship. Sexual taboo arose from the fear of incest and became the protection against incest relationships. Thus totemism stands in intimate connection with the system of exogamy.

Freud discusses at first the various views of totemism which have been put forward by different authors under three theories of totemism, the nominalist, the sociological and the psychological. The first derives totemism from the use of animal names for men, through the need of individual or group designations, or adopted from certain peculiarities which suggested animal resemblances, which gradually became a sign of origin from the animal the name of which was chosen. The absence of animal names for individuals among earliest tribes, and the system of maternal inheritance only make this origin untenable. Nor does it account for anything more than the name. The system itself remains unexplained. Lang believes that primitive man found himself with such names and then elaborated his system to explain so important a possession as a name is to the savage man. The sociological theory sees in the totem a visible representative of the primitive organization and its religion. Other forms of this theory derive the importance of the totem from the importance to a tribe of a particular totem object, that is especially in the satisfying of hunger. Primitive men however do not confine themselves thus to one article of diet. Neither is thus explained the religious significance of the object which makes of it an object of abstinence in eating. Frazer, building upon the myths of the Arunta nation in Australia of a time when their forefathers fed upon their own totem, believes that gradually the restriction upon the eating of the totem grew up on the principle of increasing the supply through a sort of cooperative magic. Identification with the animal also led to preservation through it of the man's own strength, while there was also a desire to propitiate it. This again however does not explain the association of exogamy, and probably also the myths upon which it is based are merely a product of wish phantasy of days when no such restriction existed.

The conception theory of the Aruntas led Frazer however to a simpler, more original cause for totemism. The Aruntas believe that conception occurs from the entrance into a woman's body of one of the spirits, lurking at a certain totem spot, to be born. The child then belongs to this totem. This would lead to an identification with the totem which would cause both restrictions on its use and ceremonial use of it.

The Aruntas are however far on the road of development as regards totemism, so that a theory based upon their primitive beliefs also loses weight. Another theory bases the origin of totemism upon the belief in the wandering of the human soul and its tendency in such totemic objects. This however may as well be a result as a forerunner of totemism. Still other theories find the origin in the guardian spirit of the ancestor or in the animals who by their swift movement or other characteristics represent spirit animals, and thus represent the breath soul.

Exogamy is considered by some writers as an essential feature of totemism, by others to be distinct from it. The latter view is strongly upheld by Frazer. Under this exogamy has been thought derived from the dearth of women which made it unusual and therefore finally improper to seize women from one's own group. Others have considered it a safeguard established against incest. It appears as a system of "deliberate design" and seems to concern at first all other incest relationships but those of father and daughter. The reason why such an institution should have arisen seems not, as some have thought, because of a natural aversion to incest practices. Rather, as Frazer has pointed out, it is against a natural inclination and desire on the part of mankind that laws are directed. This is in accord with the discoveries of psychoanalytic investigation, that the earliest sexual impulses of the individual are of an incestuous nature. Abhorrence of incest is therefore neither inborn nor a result of incest laws based on the conscious recognition that it is harmful to the race. Incest taboo is probably older than opportunity for such observation and moreover the actual existence of such ill result is still doubtful. Furthermore, hygienic considerations can hardly be thus attributed to such primitive peoples. Neither could this explain the deep abhorrence to incest which exists among primitive peoples today even more than among civilized peoples. In the face of this ignorance therefore of the origin of the fear of incest, Freud brings forward what might be called the historical origin of it. Aboriginal man probably lived in company with one or more females, which sole right he maintained until a younger man was able to dispossess and slay him. The younger man must then also maintain his position by driving out all rivals until the rule was established "No sexual relationships within the group." After totemism was established this became "No sexual relationships within the totem clan."

Freud then turns the light of psychoanalysis upon this vexed question. Children, he points out, have much the same attitude toward animals that primitive people manifest. Besides, their feeling of comradeship toward animals frequently turns to fear and becomes a distinct neurotic phobia. In the few analytic reports of such phobias which have so far been made, the fear of the animal seems to be in the case of the boy a fear of the father displaced over upon the animal. The "Analysis

of the Phobia of a Five-Year-Old Boy"¹ revealed such a fear in which a death wish directed against the father had aroused a feeling of punishment, which had then been displaced upon the horse. The child's feeling toward the horse partakes of the ambivalence of affect which he unconsciously entertains toward the father, that of rivalry and hatred and that of respect and interest, which leads him to identify himself with the beast. The phobia mingled itself with a castration phantasy just as in a case reported by Ferenczi. In the latter also the ambivalent attitude, this time toward feathered fowl, evinced itself in imitation-identification and in ill-treatment of the fowls, a ceremonial form of attack which ended in caressing and loving the badly treated creatures. With all of this the child manifested a sexual wish phantasy in which the members of his family were identified with the various members of the chicken brood.²

From these illustrations Freud ventures to formulate one fundamental principle of totemism, namely, that the totem object is a substitute for the father, as indeed primitive man has stated it in speaking of the totem as his ancestor. This brings the two basal laws of totemism, those which forbid the killing of the totem and the taking of any woman belonging to the totemic clan, into connection with the crime of *Œdipus* and the primitive wish of the child, the unsuccessful repression of which, or its return, forms the kernel of the psychoneurosis.

Freud pursues this thought in a study of the religious observance of the totem clan. He refers to the investigations of W. Robertson Smith in regard to the sacrificial meal among early peoples. Animal sacrifice was probably the earlier form of sacrifice before offerings of first fruits of the ground were made. These sacrificial feasts were occasions when the god and men partook together of the same food. Eating and drinking together was even among men a mark of fellowship with a strengthening of social bonds and a sharing of social responsibility. Such a ceremonial fellowship was not a family affair as we know a family to-day but was possible only within the bond of clan kinship. No important clan event could take place without the sacrifice of an animal nor could the totem animal be slain except upon such a ceremonial occasion. The killing of a beast otherwise forbidden was justified only when the entire clan became answerable for it. The sacrificial beast was treated like a member of the clan. "The group which offered the sacrifice, their god, and the animal sacrificed were of one blood, members of one clan." In later ceremonies, when the original totemic sacrifice had been replaced by the offering of certain sacred beasts, there seems to have lingered yet the idea that the killing of the beast was intrinsically a crime which must be followed by some sort of ceremony to avert evil.

¹ Abstracted in *PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol. 3, No. 1.

² See Jelliffe and Brink, *Rôle of Animals in the Unconscious*, *PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol. IV, No. 3.

In spite of this fear of the killing of the sacrifice, the sacrifice justified itself as the only means whereby the members of the clan could enter into union with one another and with their god. It was based upon the materialistic conception of identification only through the flesh and the blood. The totem animal, the sacrificial animal of the earliest times, was itself the primitive god through whose death and division among them the clan members renewed and strengthened themselves. Freud believes with the author quoted that "the sacramental killing and mutual sharing of the otherwise forbidden totem animal must have been a most significant feature of the totem religion."

The sacrifice is followed by a very distinctive feature of the ceremony, the bewailing of the sacrificial animal, which is a forced mark of grief designed evidently to remove the burden of guilt for the slaying. Excessive revelry and rejoicing follow upon this, which in turn are the natural expression for the festive freedom which has broken through a strong taboo. Psychoanalysis teaches the meaning of this ambivalent attitude toward the sacrifice when it reveals that the totem animal is the substitute for the father. It discovers the same double attitude toward the father which forms the father complex manifest in the unconscious of children and adults alike. There is no trace however of a primitive horde in which one man reigns supreme, forcing out all other sexual rivals. Instead there arose, which still exist, bands of younger men, who together dared to put an end to the primitive father horde, killed the father and with cannibalistic instinct identified themselves with him by dividing his flesh among themselves. Then the totem sacrificial feast would be the return and the remembrance of that act, criminal though it was, which formed the beginning of social organization, moral limitation and religion. They were actuated by the same complex of hatred and respect which is found in children and in neurotics. Better impulses come to predominate after the death, sense of guilt and remorse cause the dead to become more powerful than when he lived and there occurs what psychoanalysis has called "belated obedience" ("nachträglichen Gehorsam"). The early transgressors forbid the killing of the totem, the father substitute, deny themselves the enjoyment of it and of the women they have won, thus creating the fundamental taboos of totemism. The sexual taboo also proved itself necessary in order that the group so formed should be able to live in harmony. The taboo in regard to the totemic animal contained the beginning of all religions: the attempt to silence the sense of guilt, to propitiate the father and obtain from him the protection which would shield them from a similar fate, to forget in the expiation and the belated obedience the original cause from which the religious observance had arisen. One more element enters into this religious beginning, the sense of triumph over the father, which makes it a duty to rehearse the death of the father in the sacrifice of the totem whenever the possession of the father's rights might seem

to be on the wane. This element in all sorts of disguises and altered forms appears again and again in later religions. In time the better feeling toward the father, strengthened by remorse, leads to the firmer establishment of a brotherly regard which establishes the safety of the brother clan and forbids murder. "Society rests now upon the sharing of responsibility for a commonly committed crime, religion upon consciousness of guilt and remorse for this, morals partly upon the necessities of such a society and in part upon the atonement demanded by such a sense of guilt."

The further development of religion with its god idea out of such a totemic beginning receives light from individual psychoanalytic investigation. Here it is discovered that for each one God is conceived after the pattern of the father, he is a heightened father. God is called Father by his followers just as the totem adherents designated the totem their ancestor. Certain relationships moreover exist between a god and the sacred animal. Each god has his sacred animal or animals, which in certain religions is offered to the god; the god is worshiped in animal form or, otherwise expressed, the animal receives divine honors long after totemism has been left behind; in myths the god frequently takes animal form. All this points to the origin of god in the totem, and this totem has appeared as the father representative. The original desire toward the father (*Vatersehnsucht*) becomes transformed into a wish to be like the father, which is expressed in the totem sacrificial meal. This desire increases with time into an unfulfilled ideal, displacing the original antagonistic feeling, which makes of the father god a powerful and unlimited being, to whom the worshiper would submit himself. The death of the god was not a foreign idea to the ancient mind and the exaltation of the once murdered father to the god from whom the race had its origin was a still more earnest attempt at reparation than the substitution through the totem. This probably had an influence also upon the social change to a patriarchal form of society.

Moreover the sacrificial scene represents the twofold attitude toward the father as it changes his downfall into the greatest triumph. Gradually the sacrifice becomes one of the self toward god, a further expiation of the sense of guilt. The sacrifice passes then out of the idea of accountability. It becomes merely a desire, the will of the god. The god idea itself has thus overcome its bestial origin. The hostile feeling of the ambivalent attitude has not however been completely removed. The human sacrifice as representative of the god, with its later substitutes through animal and effigy, which has been traced down through later religions, is still the ceremonial killing of the father in the god. The element of mourning accompanying these sacrifices has still, as Robertson Smith has pointed out, a compulsive character due to fear of the anger of the god. The two factors, the sense of guilt on the part of the son and his self-exaltation, remain influenced however by cultural

changes, historical events and inner psychic development. With the rise of agriculture the incest desire toward the mother source of strife with the father satisfies itself upon Mother Earth. Hence arise the vegetable gods, who then must in turn meet with punishment, but in whose resurrection the son again triumphs. The highest development of this appears in the Christian religion which arose out of such beliefs. Christ silenced in a new manner the old sense of guilt for he took upon himself the sacrifice, voluntarily offering himself as the atonement to the father and thereby freeing his brethren from the sense of guilt. He completed the expiation for the original sin also by complete renunciation of the sexual life with the woman. His triumph over the Father exceeded however all that had gone before, since in his communion now the Father is set aside and the brethren partake of the body and blood of the Son, who has entered into the Father's place. The Christian Communion becomes thus a return of the original deed for which atonement was made. It has, as Frazer has said, "absorbed within itself a sacrament which is doubtless far older than Christianity."

This setting aside of the father must have left its traces in the mental life of the race. It gives a classic form to Greek tragedy, in which the hero is regularly one who is suffering from some crime, often a hidden and unusual one, rebellion against some divine or human authority for which he must take upon himself the burden of punishment and thus become the saviour of the chorus, who represent the brother group. In the Middle Ages the same theme is represented in the Passion Play. Therefore in the *Œdipus* complex may be seen the beginnings of religion, ethics, society and art, while psychoanalysis discovers in it more-over the kernel of all the neuroses. Perhaps this father or parent complex is also the source of that ambivalence of affect which permeates all psychical life.

Freud acknowledges that these hypotheses cannot now be established with utmost certainty nor are they quite free from difficulties. He presupposes however that there exists a mass psychology in which this feeling of guilt is preserved along with inherited dispositions, which are awakened to life in each individual according to individual exigencies. No impulses have been active in the psyche without leaving some traces. Repression of them gives rise to substituted impulses and the reactions which follow upon these. The unconscious psyche is in a position to give the correct interpretation to these distorted expressions of original impulses. The feeling of guilt has worked for the prevention of a return of the original crime and in the case of the neurotic sets up thus unnecessary restrictions and limitations. Psychoanalysis teaches us that this defense against criminal action arises not from actual deeds but from wish phantasies, psychic reality, which both to the psychoneurotic and to the primitive man have all the value of actual events, and exert the same influence. These impulses and feelings are sufficiently strong to

produce the most serious ceremonial actions in both. Yet the neurotic in childhood has yielded as far as possible to converting these impulses into forbidden activity, and we can believe that primitive man was even less restrained in putting his impulses into action. So that after all, even with the neurotic and primitive overvaluation of psychic reality, Freud considers himself justified in grounding this present discussion upon the fact that "The deed stood at the beginning."

2. *Nakedness in Saga and Poetry*.—The desire for looking (*Schau-lust*), Rank says, like its complementary instinct, the desire for exhibition (*Zeigelust*) discussed in the former part of this article,³ manifests itself in objective fashion in organic expression and in other externalizing neurotic mechanisms as it does in the saga, while in poetic form it remains in the region of phantasy and is thus more like the dream in character. The idea of retribution, as Freud has shown, is responsible for certain neurotic disturbances of the organ of vision, which makes of them a punishment for transgression of the organ utilized by this looking instinct. For the eye serves not only the functions of reality in the interests of the ego but also is at the bidding of unbearable sexual impulses, and so a conflict ensues which results in these disturbances of vision. The eye denied the gratification of its sexual desire refuses then to perform likewise its normal function, even while it thus punishes itself for the forbidden desire. Freud refers to Tennyson's poem of Lady Godiva, who rode naked through the streets of Coventry to save the people from taxation. The punishment of blindness came upon the one churl who peeped at her as she rode. Rank introduces Max Mell, another poet, who suggests, instead of punishment contained in the blindness, the refusal on the part of the eyes to serve any longer the ordinary functions of reality since they had once gazed upon such beauty. This idea of punishment of blindness for gazing upon the forbidden, especially erotic nakedness, is an ancient mythical theme, in which the psychological connection may be traced. Among various Greek myths are those of Tiresias and *Œdipus*, whose stories are bound together in the fate of the latter, and both of whom are punished by blindness, self-inflicted in case of the king, for looking upon that which is forbidden their eyes. The story of *Œdipus* shows this directly as the looking upon the mother, that of Tiresias reveals the same thing indirectly. This motive, repeated more or less directly in the other myths, is confirmed by psychoanalysis, which reveals the parents, particularly the mother, as the objects of the child's peeping desire. The threat of blindness returns here likewise as an attempt to turn him from the forbidden desire.

The variety of forms in which this motive may appear, as well as the point of departure for various related groups of these forms, the author finds in the *Melusine* saga. This relates how a certain nobleman finds in the wood a beautiful maiden whom he marries and with whom he lives

³ PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 444.

happily until he breaks his promise not to see her at a certain time, or according to one version, never to look upon her naked. At the moment when his promise is broken the wife partially or completely turns into a dragon or serpent and then disappears. Here the further development of the motive shows itself in the displacement of the infantile taboo over into the marriage relationship. The punishment of blindness has also been modified and changed through later development. In the Melusine saga the sons later present a number of eye abnormalities. The change of the lower half of the wife's body into serpent form is due in part to a repression of the original desire, the same mechanism of repression and distortion which works so strongly in the psychoneurosis to render the once desired parts hateful, disgusting, bestial and repulsive. Even to the normal man however the female genital becomes at times revolting and hateful, as during menstruation or parturition. Such is the interpretation which may be drawn from the Melusine saga if attention is also given to the earlier part of the story, in which the curse of the dragon form was put upon Melusine as an indirect result of her father's visitation of the mother in her confinement. This form of saga shows on the whole that both the taboo and the transgression are bound with the infantile curiosity, especially exercised concerning birth and confinement. This is repeated in a legend from Japan in which again the husband disobeys his wife's command, peeps in upon her during confinement and discovers her in the form of a dragon and as a punishment loses her. The same disgust toward the woman may occur when her desire exceeds that of the man, and this also is expressed thus through the mechanism of projection in her change of form.

Another motive of the change of form appears in a dream which Rank gives, in which the dreamer expresses her aversion to appearing naked before the man and to the sexual act by transforming her body into a form which renders the latter impossible. A similar Indian legend shows the same motive and as the heroine, Urvaçi, disappears as a water fowl, reminds the reader of the swan-maiden motive. In these legends the swan maiden is of elfin form, which is laid aside for human form when surprised by a mortal and put into his power by his removal of the swan covering which had been laid aside. The elfin form of swan or beast, as the case may be, is again resumed and the woman disappears, representing thus the forbidding of the sexual act at improper times.

Another form of this sexual taboo manifests itself in other saga forms, in which a similar prohibition originates with the man, directed toward the woman and her sexual curiosity. The well-known fable of Cupid and Psyche relates her desire and her fear of her unknown lover, half divine, half demon, who has forbidden her to look upon him. The god-like form which she sees revealed when she in disobedience to his commands strikes a light and gazes upon him contrasts with the repulsive dragon form which the oracle had pronounced as her lover. This

double conception of the lover corresponds to the twofold feeling of desire and fear in regard to the sexual embrace. The sexual meaning is further emphasized by the two significant sexual symbols of the serpent and the kindling of a light. This untimely kindling of a light forms again a feature of a Japanese saga, which, like the Indian myth and that of Cupid and Psyche, introduces the transgression of the command against looking, through the light kindled at a forbidden time. It concerns the man who approaches his wife at such a period and also refers to the disgust of the woman to whom the stimulated male genital seems repulsive and of the man at the sight of the female genital at certain times. The prohibition seems however in the greater number of sagas to refer to the looking at the naked woman, whose genitals have become repulsive or frightful because of the repression of the infantile peeping desire whether in the neurotic form or in the occasional period of normal life. This feeling has one of its deepest roots in the infantile theory of the similarity of the woman's genitals to those of the man. The serpent form then represents the mother's penis and the prohibition of the sexual act is an incest avoidance, while the sojourn in the underworld to find the woman, which also appears in this material, may be understood as a phantasy of the mother's body. This motive of the woman with a penis appears also in various forms of myth and helps to explain the fright and horror of the heroes at the sight of the transformed woman's form—into serpent, dragon, fish—as well as the neurotic sexual aversion in symptoms and dreams.

The motive of invisibility therefore has the same effect as the punishment of blindness for the forbidden looking. It is the robbing of the elfin woman of her magic garments which binds her to the earth and to the man, while she disappears, becomes invisible, as soon as she succeeds in obtaining once more the magic garments. This being bound to the earth and the man suggests again the hindrance motive in the first part of this study. In the widespread Orpheus myth, in which the lover must rescue his loved one from the underworld, he transgresses through his impatient desire the command not to look upon her, touch or speak to her. That this concerns the sexual desire is revealed by various incidents in a number of myths where the sexual reference to the dead or departed is clear. The nakedness motive appears clearly in the story of the rescue of Istar from the lower world. At each of the seven doors by which she enters some garment must be laid aside, to be resumed again as she passes out with her rescuer, her lover son Tammuz (incest). There exists in these myths both a death motive as punishment for untimely desire and the winning again of the woman. The invisibility of the woman appears on the one hand as the projection of the sexual desire of the man, for whom the sexual object shall appear only when he wishes, on the other hand as a punishment of his unseasonable inclinations through the disappearance of the woman. There is a positive em-

ployment of the invisibility motive in which the man through a woman's garment or corresponding magic means, ring and the like, can make himself invisible and spy upon the woman as much as he pleases, as he once wished to do as a child. This motive is also bound with the possession of the woman through the seizing of her magic garments. The magic ring, sword, boots, serve to make the man invisible or to transport him or the loved one where he will, containing at the same time, as various sagas show, the motive of invisibility as an opportunity for spying. Again certain myths concern themselves with the boasting display on the part of the man of the beauty of his beloved. This appears in the tale of Gyges, which is told by Herodotus and elaborated by Hebbel in his tragedy *Gyges und sein Ring*. The king boasts of the queen's beauty and urges Gyges to spy upon her. It is through the magic ring, in the latter version, that Gyges obtains sight of the queen in her room, after which he murders the king and becomes the husband of the queen and ruler of the kingdom.

This reveals the typical child phantasy and gratifies it through the invisibility of the hero. It is the wish to spy upon the woman's nakedness and the intimacy of the marriage relationship and, roused by the beauty of the woman (mother), to overcome the king (father) and possess the mother. The tale justifies the killing of the father since it makes the spying dependent upon his urging, and the killing due to the entreaty of the dishonored queen.

A psychological contrast, result of repression, to the wish gratification in the magic ring appears in the betrayal through the ring of the hiding place of the invisible man and thus his deliverance into punishment. This motive is again joined to that of retributive blindness. When Odysseus in the Homeric legend has escaped from Polyphemus, whom he has blinded, he betrays his locality upon the ship twice by calling out to the enraged giant, who then attacks him with great rocks and almost overpowers him again. An older development of this motive, discussed by W. Grimm, contains the magic ring as a gift of the giant, which holds the hero transfixed to some spot and compels him to call out and reveal himself. He is able to save himself only by biting off the finger which bears the ring. Here again also is the motive of being chained to the spot, familiar in dreams and also in the preceding study of the exhibition desire. In the sagas of this study it appears bound with the motive of invisibility and also with blindness. The ring on the one hand transports the hero where he wishes to go, or it reveals him to the blinded enemy by making him call out to him his place of escape, in either case it makes "visible"; on the other hand since to become invisible again the finger must be bitten or cut off, there enters the idea of retribution or punishment for the employment of invisibility to satisfy the looking instinct. Further sagas show also the motive of nakedness bound with this same magic use of the ring.

Rank's study has therefore, as he summarizes it, revealed the various forms of repression of the motive of nakedness as they proceed from the ashamed and at the same time pleasurable gratification of the exhibitionistic impulse, which in the naked dreamer is bound with the feeling of being chained to the spot. It finds in turn its rationalization in this motive of being bound and further in the compensatory laying on of garments in number and beauty of adornment. It finds moreover its defense in bodily disfigurement, which produces revulsion and leads again to the necessity of being unclothed. This finds its expression pathologically in the skin diseases of the psychoneurotic. This same defense motive of the exhibitionistic impulse is found again in the positive phase of this instinct, the looking impulse, in its neurotic retributive form, that of blindness, which in its turn passes over through the objectified punishment to the positive satisfying of itself by means of the rendering invisible of the subject himself. This once more meets its punishment in the betrayal of the hiding place where it reveals itself as bound with the motive of being restrained, with which the study began. This means that the working out of the nakedness theme in poem and saga owes its development to the infantile exhibitionistic and peeping tendencies, or in other words the sexual curiosity which exercises itself especially about the forbidden sight of the parental sexual functions and organs, particularly the organs of the mother. The same impulses therefore which strive for a gratification of the forbidden pleasure manifest themselves in the same way as the restraining, repressing endeavor of the culturally established ego, with now one, now the other tendency predominating in the phantasy formation. This ambivalence manifested in the development of these motives gives expression to the psychoanalytically established fact that in the repressed material that which is to be repressed is ever working its way through in some form or other. This may be stated in another way: The repression is a continual process, never decisive, never concluded, but according to the grade of culture is always producing new forms and modifications of the sublimated instincts in the striving after satisfaction and under the influence of the restraining taboos of culture.

The following scheme represents graphically this manifold development of the nakedness motive from the standpoint of the peeping and exhibitionistic impulses.

I. The looking instinct appears:

- A. In the typical form of repression (retribution) as inability to see, namely:
 - 1. Subjectively symbolized in the neurotic defense form of blindness and
 - 2. Objectively in the motive of the disappearance of the love object (her invisibility).
- B. In the typical form of gratification as a carrying out of the look-

ing desire without punishment (return of the repressed material), namely:

1. By means of one's own invisibility (subjective).
2. By means of the ability to make the loved object visible at any time.

II. The exhibitionistic instinct appears:

A. In the typical form of repression as inability to show oneself naked, namely:

1. Because of the subjective feeling of shame, which compels to flight (while the looking desire arouses the opposite sensation of inhibition of movement as in the dream);
2. Because of a tendency to concealment of the body, which leads to the multiplying of beautiful garments (which again serves to call attention to the wearer);

B. In the typical form of gratification as a carrying out of the looking impulse without punishment, namely:

1. Through bodily disfigurement (repulsiveness, leprosy) which necessitates disrobing and so serves the return of the original repressed material;
2. In the masochistically colored motive of being bound, which brings about the involuntary restraint and with it the being looked at, while at the same time it powerfully overcomes the shame.

It is the purely psychological expression of these instincts which manifests itself in blindness, feeling of restraint, shame, while the objectifying of the same is expressed by disappearance, being bound, leprosy and the like. The latter are but materialized expressions of the former. Poetry makes use of the former means but the saga, standing nearer to reality, expresses itself through the latter. The various motives represent a progressive development on the basis of a "secular repression" (Freud) which moves from the original, purely subjective dream situation and its poetic product to the more materialistic, external saga form with its almost neurotic motive forms, which display again the most intensive defense mechanism. The motive form is however not only formally determined through the existing degree of repression but seems also to follow the direction from the dream to the neurosis.

Miscellaneous Abstract

THE PSYCHOLOGIC STUDY OF JUDICIAL OPINION. By Theodore Schroeder. California Law Review. Jan., 1918, Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 89-113.

Judicial decisions should be criticized from the viewpoint of the evolutionary status of the judge's desires and mental processes, rather than according to the obvious results, and in the light of psychic determinism instead of morality. Predispositions (prejudices) are inevitably universal and therefore, in themselves, immaterial. The only thing of importance is to know at what evolutionary level the dominant prejudices were formed. This is to be determined by analytic and evolutionary psychology, partial concepts of which are briefly formulated. The judge is on trial in every case before him.

"Every judicial opinion necessarily reveals a variety of choices. There is a choice of materials from that offered in evidence, as well as among possible precedents and arguments. A choice is made in that which is approved as well as that which is ignored, or expressly disapproved. There is a choice of material brought in by the judge and not a matter of record. There is choice in all that is emphasized, slighted or distorted. A choice is evinced in the very words by which these other choices are expressed. Every such choice is a fragment of autobiography."

An unpublished actual judicial decision is made the subject of a careful analysis of all the choices that are revealed, by comparing its content with all legal alternatives. These choices thus made clear reveal also the judge's emotional conflict, and so his dominant defensive impulse in relation to the situation with which he is confronted. Choices reveal character, and back of that must be experiences adequate to its creation. Knowing the objective factors presented in the trial of the case, and the judge's reaction thereto as revealed in his decision, as by a process of subtraction we get at the judge's subjective biographical contribution to the final result.

By such methods of analysis and a careful checking and accounting for all possible alternatives, Schroeder concludes that in the decision before him every choice, even to the words, was determined by fear-inspiring phantasies of wine, women and prostitutes. Other judges and their official acts are indicated to further illustrate how judicial action is sometimes controlled by an unconscious over-determination of the "skeleton in the closet" of the judge.

This essay is one of a number of efforts made by Mr. Schroeder to introduce the psychoanalytic approach and the viewpoint of evolutionary

psychology into discussions of religion, philosophy and the social sciences. (1. Hours with a Revivalist, a report from the psychologic viewpoint, with Bibliography of author's essays on the Erotogenesis of Religion, Truth Seeker Co., N. Y. City, 1917; 2. Intellectual Evolution and Pragmatism, *The Monist*, v. 26, pp. 86-112, Jan., 1916; 3. Psychic View of the Pragmatic Issue, *The Monist*, Jan., 1918; 4. Psychic Aspects of Social Evolution, *Liberal Review*, June and July, 1917; 5. Psychogenetics of Androcratic Evolution, *Psychoanalytic Review*, v. 2, pp. 277-285, July, 1915; 6. Psychology, Democracy and Free Speech, *Medico-Legal Journal*, July, 1917, v. 34, No. 4, pp. 1-6; 7. The McNamaras, Martyrs or Criminals, *The Forum*, v. 54, pp. 329-336, Sept., 1915; 8. In Defense of a Chinese, *Everyman*, v. 11, No. 8, pp. 8-13, June, 1916; 9. Criminology and Social Psychology, *Medico-Legal Journal*, v. 34, No. 1, pp. 1-8, Apr., 1917; 10. Mental Hygiene for Non-Combatants, *Medical Review of Reviews*, Jan., 1918.)

A recent editorial in the *Medico-Legal Journal* reports this:

"Theodore Schroeder is of the opinion that a time will come when no man will be considered fit for the judicial bench who has not first submitted himself to an expert psychoanalyst for so thorough an analysis that he knows the source and behavior of every impulse at work within him, even those which are usually working subconsciously, and has a thorough knowledge of the use of the scientific method as applied to legal problems."

VARIA

Fragments of Criminal Psychology.—

I

"She was very short, very stout, and she suffered terribly with asthma. She was a most beautiful woman, Doctor, my mother was. We had a painting of her and it stood on an easel, and I used to come and kneel before it and worship it as though it were the picture of a saint, and when the brute ignored her for other women, I killed him."

The inmate was just leaving after having served seventeen years for the murder of his father.

II

"If anyone should tell you, Doctor, that a father cannot love his daughter with the same love that a man bears for a woman, don't you believe it. I know it, so help me God!" Then he had a fit of coughing which left him very much confused and embarrassed, and it was with difficulty that he resumed the interview. "You see, it was the treatment of her by her step-mother that drew her so much closer and one thing led to another, until—my God—I was a tiger, and not a man."

Inmate is just leaving after having served a sentence of eight years for the rape of his sixteen-year-old daughter.

III

"What I objected to most was having my sister take me on her lap and fondle me and call me 'Baby' when I was a big boy, almost sixteen. They always made me feel that I was not complete." Here he helps himself with his native tongue and says, "Ich war nicht reif. I have always felt that. I could never pass my classes as the other boys did, and when my father started me in business, I lost the money and the business. Here in America I am washing dishes, but a thing like me is in great danger in America. You see, in Germany they look upon this thing as a sickness and here it is a crime."

He had just been admitted on a sentence of four years for sodomy.

IV

The man was just leaving after having served twelve years for murder. He was prematurely old, intensely embittered, and full of hate for society. He wasn't sure what finally led him to commit the act. He

knew he had been a fool to take up with a girl twenty years his junior after he separated from his wife, but he did not mind her immorality.

"What hurt me most, Doctor, was to have been made a fool of by this young flip—to see her use my money for entertaining young bucks—so when I caught her one day with one of them, I killed her. That is all."

B. GLUECK

"*Ceremonial Defloration.*"—Glancing out of my car window one day I saw on the station platform a number of persons whose attention was arrested by some occurrence out of my sight, towards the rear of the train. It was an occurrence that aroused in all the lookers-on the same emotion and it expressed itself in much the same way on the faces of all, men and women, young and old, the loafers and the haste-bound, the old lady fussing along with more bundles than she could carry, and the lad lounging against the station wall, his cigarette forgotten. One and all, with eyes lit up, mouths in an unset, self-oblivious smile, alike relaxed and eager, their whole beings as self-forgetful as children at a circus and as self-expressive.

What was happening? There was no need to ask the grinning negro porter standing so entranced near my open window. Only one incident would make everybody look like that—the incident of a bridal couple, a manifest bridal couple, tagged with an old slipper, wearing conspicuously new clothes, hunted by rice throwers. For a moment everyone in that station was a wedding guest, and getting as much enjoyment out of that mating as conditions permitted.

In some parts of the world the enjoyment of a wedding is less circumscribed. Although the bride herself seldom furnishes the enjoyment directly—*jus primæ noctæ* is an infrequent privilege of wedding guests—the wedding music or singing is more exciting, the ceremonial figures or masks in the bridal procession more expressive. And then the bridal couple are themselves the objects of a closer and more untiring attention, and for a longer time, even for a week or more. The couple are zealously prepared—bathed, perfumed, adorned. They are mocked, badgered, wailed over. They are serenaded, feasted, and finally with much circumstance put to bed. Even there they may be watched.

A wedding is indeed a "social" occasion, a time too when sex impulses go comparatively unchecked. The more restricted they are at other times, the greater the emancipation at a wedding, the licensed period for outburst. The old are especially fond of weddings, we may note, and so is the more self-inhibiting sex.

But weddings are not always available circumstances, real weddings. What then should a group of "merrymakers" do but "get up" a mock wedding? I once looked on at a mock marriage which was celebrated in the saloon of an ocean steamer. The bride was a man, a large muscular hirsute sample of virility, his chest well exposed in his white *décolleté*.

During part of the ceremony he smoked a cigar. The clergyman was assisted by a physician who interrupted the ritual to make an examination of bride and groom, whispering the results in the ear of each. Behind the bride's lamenting mother marched a waiter, bearing a trayful of beer and wine bottles. The speeches were a mixture of dull American coarseness spiced with suggestions of Viennese perversion—the ship's doctor, an Austrian, played the part of the eugenics doctor.

Revealing as was the performance, I was less interested in it than in its audience. Nobody appeared to think of the display as obscene or even incongruous. The older ladies went on with their knitting, their pleased smiles in accord with the giggles of the girls. The older men stopped their reading or card playing or talking to move up nearer. None in that company of over two hundred looked disgusted or perturbed; they were as amused and gratified as those other passengers in the railway station. To none in either place did it occur that sometime valued feelings—respect for the intimacies of sex, solicitude for its privacy—were being violated. Nor did any one recognize in himself that taste for exhibitionism which not uncommonly characterizes an immature or impoverished sex life.

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

BOOK REVIEWS

SEX WORSHIP AND SYMBOLISM OF PRIMITIVE RACES. By Sanger Brown, II, M.D. Richard G. Badger, Boston, 1916. P. 145.

This little book undertakes to set forth in an acceptable way the simpler facts of sex symbolism, particularly as found in religious and ceremonial observances. The work is very clearly written, the facts simply stated, and appeals, therefore, to the non-technical reader. The author is a psychiatrist and has evidently had his interest in these matters aroused by the psychoanalytic movement in its various ramifications. The reviewer feels that it is unfortunate that a writer who is capable of putting matters so simply and clearly should have after all missed very largely some of the more important fundamentals. In the latter part of the book, if he does not derive sex worship from nature worship, he at least makes it appear at a later period in the development of the race. In so doing it is as if he were to attempt an answer to the question, Which comes first, the egg or the hen?

WHITE.

THE MASTERY OF NERVOUSNESS, BASED UPON SELF-REEDUCATION. By Robert S. Carroll, M.D., Medical Director, Highland Hospital, Asheville, North Carolina. Price \$2.00 net. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917. (9), 346 pages.

It is difficult for a medical man to evaluate a book of this kind, for the effect which it will have upon the audience for which it is obviously intended—the lay public—is a matter of guess-work. As an exponent of the uplift—*mens sana in corpore sano*, work and play, be good and let who will be clever, don't worry, overeat, or drug yourself, Dr. Carroll seems to fulfill all the requirements. But such a facile philosophy is always open to the objection that, while it apparently covers the vast subject of neurosis, it fails to apply to individual neurotics. Slothfulness, overeating, drug-addiction, introspection, worry, and all the other alleged causes of nervousness we know are themselves but symptoms of the neurotic character. Which is, according to Adler, a straining towards a fictitious goal on account of a sense of inferiority which tends to psychic over-compensation through the central nervous system. Or, with Freud, we can say that the neuroses have a sexual etiology, of a physical nature in neurasthenia, of an infantile nature in the psycho-neuroses.

Dr. Carroll's solution of the problem of existence for the neurotics is to attain harmony with life, "ultimate control by the moral idea,"

"a spiritual disregard for bodily feelings" "patience and thoughtfulness and gentleness and increasing capacity for friendship." He says: "With a simple, wholesome, harmony-seeking standard of life, all of its complexities may be simplified," and so on.

This is indeed tepid pabulum. The neurotic is such because of conflicts between the pleasure-pain motif and the demands of reality and, however acutely he may appreciate the moral value of such precepts, he cannot regulate his conduct by them until his own conflict has been analyzed and settled.

The style of the book is, as a whole, good, though a little turgid and overstrained in places. Thus (page 66): "But these same muscles hang to many modern bones sluggish, inert, weakness-producing masses of near-decomposition." And again (page 158): "Until mastered, our emotional self is ever ready to rebel at reason, is eager and tugging to assume the ascendancy and subjugate reason and will, and to rule our minds with a despotic tyranny which knows no law, but fickleness, considers no time but now, which recognizes no master but desire, and obeys no voice but the call for gratification."

A few absolute errors may be detected. For example the statement (page 30): "Numbers of fearsome epileptics go through lives of fierce uncertainty, the unhappy products of a single ancestral spree." This theory that is, epilepsy as the result of intoxication of one or both parents at the time of impregnation, had only a passing interest, and was soon definitely stamped "Not proved."

LIND.

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC METHOD. By Dr. Oskar Pfister. Translated by Dr. Charles R. Payne. New York, Moffat, Yard & Company, 1917. Pp. 588.

This work of Pfister's is the most ambitious attempt which has been made to thoroughly present the whole psychoanalytic movement, particularly in its therapeutic aspect, in the light of personal experience. Psychoanalysis as theory and practice is considered in its various ramifications and details and the points illustrated by a rich collection of case material. Like all large comprehensive works it might be criticized here and there, but taken as a whole it is a monumental work for which we are indebted both to the author and in some respects even more to the translator, because the task of rendering such a treatise into English is tremendous.

The author is not a physician, but a pastor and a pedagogue and his primary interests radiate from these two viewpoints. His cases, therefore, are naturally largely among children or young adults. To those who see the psychoanalytic movement a moral menace this work ought to serve as an enlightenment, showing as it does the minister and the teacher going among his people and his children helping them in their

distress, using the principles and the technique of psychoanalysis, and dominated by the highest religious and educational ideas.

As might be expected the latter part of the work, in which the author deals specifically with the problems of religion and of education, is perhaps the happiest. He sees in the teachings of Jesus what he believes to be perfectly expressed truths and what the psychoanalysts have seen for many years, namely the expressed wisdom of the folk soul. His discussion of the problems of education should be read by every teacher and by every superintendent of an institution which takes care of children. The ineffectualness of approaching the difficulties of children or adults, for that matter, solely at the conscious level needs to be emphasized over and over again. This is particularly true in the matter of corporal punishment. Here not only is the argument, as such, a failure, but instead of merely failing to convince, danger is encountered of doing positive injury by creating emotional reactions which serve still further to cripple the individual in his dealings with reality. The book deserves a wide reading.

WHITE.

EXPERIMENTS IN PSYCHICAL RESEARCH AT LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY. By John Edgar Coover. Published by the University, Stanford University, California, 1917. Price \$3.50 paper; \$4.00 buckram; \$5.00 half morocco.

This rather awe-inspiring volume of some 600 pages represents a decidedly new departure in the field of psychical research. It is a report by Assistant Professor Coover, appointed as fellow in psychical research in the Leland Stanford University, under a ten thousand pound grant made by Mr. T. W. Stanford, brother of Leland Stanford to the university trustees and placed at their disposal for investigations in spiritualism and psychical research practically without any qualifying restrictions. It is the first time, to all intents and purposes, that an accredited institution of learning has taken up this subject in a serious way. Heretofore it has, for the most part, either been exploited by individuals for personal gain or investigated by biased enthusiasts. The object of the present research could only be for the purpose of introducing substantially well accredited observations by persons of acknowledged scientific training into a field where before these qualities have been singularly lacking.

The general results of the work are what might have been expected. Nothing any more stimulating than a conformity of results to the normal expectations on the theory of probabilities based upon the assumption that the individuals were guessing, seems to have been demonstrated. No evidence has arisen in the course of the work which has tended to substantiate such alleged phenomena as telepathy, thought-

transference, and the like. And so the volume stands for the most part as a monument to negative evidence, but as such of course has its importance in this very much discussed field.

The reviewer, however, cannot refrain from the comment that many of the phenomena in this field are quite capable of scientific interpretation which for the most part has been entirely overlooked in this work. I refer naturally to the psychoanalytic method of approach and to the psychoanalytic interpretation. Of course such a method of interpretation cannot be applied in the wholesale way in which the investigation is made in this work. It is essentially an individual study. The massing of figures from many experiments and numerous individuals such as the author employs tends naturally to eliminate individual differences and reduce the results to what might be expected on the theory of guessing and the calculus of probabilities.

The work may have value in helping the minds of those who are more or less at sea with regard to these questions to come into stable equilibrium, but for those who are interested and have a knowledge of psychoanalysis the whole investigation seems to be rather useless. Such a study, for example, as that of Jung's on the Psychology of Rumor, in his recent work on Analytical Psychology is much more to the point and much more valuable. Such studies, however, will probably not be largely in evidence until psychology gets away from its old moorings and recognizes that it is not the sensation but the wish which is the unit of psychic life.

There are a great many interesting suggestions throughout the work, suggestions which might very well be taken up from the psychoanalytic point of view, and the reviewer thinks to very much better advantage than from the point of view taken in this work. Such studies, as, for example, of the terms imposed by judges in sentencing criminals, showing the preferential attitude of mind which the judges have for certain sentences rather than others, preferences for certain numbers, and the whole large subject which is discussed under the heading of Mental Habit and Inductive Probability, showing how certain trends of personality, to use psychoanalytic terms, express themselves in the results of observation, for example of star magnitudes, of temperature, cloudiness, rainfall, etc.

The University is to be commended for its courage in taking up for serious study a subject about which so much prejudice and superstition revolve.

WHITE.

NOTICE.—All business communications should be addressed to The Psychoanalytic Review, 3617 Tenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

All manuscripts should be sent to Dr. William A. White, Saint Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C.

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

THE HOUND OF HEAVEN¹

BY THOMAS VERNER MOORE

It is maintained by Jung that there is in every organism one single fundamental energy which has various manifestations. This concept is based on an analogy drawn from physical science. Physical energy has various forms, appearing now as heat, now as movement, now as light, now as electricity, now as a chemical change. But at bottom it is all one and the same energy, and must, in the last analysis, be looked upon as that which moves a mass with a given velocity. So Jung sees in the various strivings of a human being, whether for the pleasures of the sense or of the mind, whether noble or ignoble, whether as a child or as a man, the manifestations of one and the same psychical energy, the *libido* of the organism.

It has long seemed to me that one must admit that there is in human nature a driving force which, however Protean its forms, never loses its identity. At the same time it appears also that this driving force does not exhaust the kinetic apparatus of our nature. The two steeds in Plato's chariot may have to be reduced to one that has good moods and bad moods, that may at times move along quietly, with a dignified and noble bearing; and then again dash ahead and threaten to wreck the chariot and kill the charioteer. But whether leisurely or with dash and spirit the one horse always moves and when he is moving his head must always be pointed to some of the many points of the compass, and in the normal human being, there is some kind of guidance and control which is being exercised over his movements.

¹ Read at the Washington Psychoanalytic Society, January 12, 1918.

The question is akin to the ancient one of the distinction between *ἡδονή* and *εὐδαιμονία*. If we grant a distinction between pleasure and happiness then the satisfaction of *libido* in any of its many forms is the source of pleasure, but the contentment which arises from the control of *libido* is happiness.

There are several things in psychoanalytic studies which would suggest this distinction. Thus Freud warns against what he terms *wilde Psychoanalyse*, and points it out as a serious mistake to advise the indiscriminate satisfaction of sexual cravings as a cure for unhappiness arising from an unfortunate marriage. He does not make the distinction I have pointed out, but it could well be made, and the psychoanalyst would be closer to human nature as it is if he would keep in mind primarily the individual who exercises a guidance and control over his libido strivings in their multifarious manifestations.

Then there are phenomena even in our dream-life which would indicate the existence of such a guiding factor. The censor of consciousness may, after all, often turn out to be a factor distinct from *libido* in any of its manifestations.

One could approach the problem of the distinction between *libido* and control from various well-recognized standpoints of the psychoanalytic school. But another and more truly empirical procedure is to analyze the facts of individual experience and see what bearing they have upon *libido* and the restrictions placed upon it by other factors in the psycho-physical organism. To do this to best advantage we should be able to look at the whole life of some human being and see the operation of the *libido* and the restrictions placed upon it.

With this problem in mind I turned to Francis Thompson and reread his great masterpiece, *The Hound of Heaven*. How luminous this poem appears when we read it from the psychoanalytical point of view as the autobiography of the author! It is the story of the strivings of the *libido*. At first, it is described as unchecked, uncompensated, and without any sublimation. Then we see the efforts of a poetic genius to direct the *libido*, first in one channel and then in another, and finally we witness the triumph of the individual over the *libido* in a religious sublimation.

When Francis Thompson speaks, in this poem, of his flight, he describes the devious paths that he pursued, driven by the desires of the human heart. This flight is the wandering of the *libido*—a wandering experienced by all, but only by a few in the violence and intensity of the fall and resurrection of Francis Thompson.

Contrasted with the blind force that drove him on, seeking freedom from the restrictions laid upon him by the moral law, is the expression of that law in his own mind, the voice of conscience, which acts as a restraining force, blocking the manifestations of the *libido*, now in this channel, now in that, until the *libido*, worn out by its very wanderings, exhausted in its flight from the "Hound of Heaven," is caught in the only channel left open to it and pours itself forth in a religious sublimation.

I fled Him, down the nights and down the days;
 I fled Him, down the arches of the years;
 I fled Him, down the labyrinthine ways
 Of my own mind; and in the mist of tears
 I hid from Him, and under running laughter.
 Up vistaed hopes, I sped;
 And shot, precipitated,
 Adown Titanic glooms of chasmed fears,
 From those strong Feet that followed, followed after.
 But with unhurrying chase,
 And unperturbed pace,
 Deliberate speed, majestic instancy,
 They beat—and a Voice beat
 More instant than the Feet—
 "All things betray thee, who betrayest Me."

The flight from the Hound of Heaven is the reaction of his nature to the insistence of his environment. As a child he had been given a religious education—first, at the little school of the Nuns of the Cross and the Passion. The voice of conscience that spoke to him was from the first a religious voice, and it never ceased to speak even though he "fled it down the nights and down the days, and down the arches of the years, and down the labyrinthine ways of his own mind."

As a child, he loved play, loved it excessively, and shut himself up in the dream world of his play. He loved his little games with his sisters, but the games meant one thing to them, another to him. "My side of the game," he said, "was part of a dream scheme invisible to them."²

His family entertained hopes that he would one day enter the priesthood, and, with this in view, they sent him to Ushaw College. But he was one of those spirits to whom institutional life was particularly hard. He did not relish being wakened rudely from his childish dreams and sent away from the shelter of his home where he played with his sisters and idealized and fell in love with his

² Cf. Life by Meynell, p. 10.

favorite doll.³ At Ushaw he manifested that shut-in reaction type which might readily have developed into a full-grown *dementia præcox*. In his essay on Shelley, he describes most exactly what psychiatrists will at once recognize as a typical *præcox* reaction:

"So beset, the child fled into the tower of his own soul, and raised the drawbridge. He threw out a reserve, encysted in which he grew to maturity unaffected by the intercourses that modify the maturity of others into the thing we call a man."⁴

But in describing Shelley, he was but telling what he had experienced in himself.

This shut-in type of reaction is after all but one of the many manifestations of the *libido* at its lower levels. The individual shrinks from the activity of the conscience principle which would direct the energies of the organism away from the self to the call of common, ordinary duty. Pleasure lies in inactivity, in doing nothing useful, in not taking one's part in the world, in living a life of dreams, in loving ideals and not realities. All share in this type of reaction to some extent and during some part of their lives. It is natural to children—but they shake it off as they enter into real life. When those in whom it is pathologically developed first come in contact with the world, they shrink back and close up like the bell animalcule when it touches a foreign object.

When Francis Thompson went to Ushaw, he experienced his first contact with the world. In a notebook he recalls his first impression of that contact. "Fresh from my tender home, and my circle of just-judging friends, these malignant schoolmates who danced round me with mocking evil distortion of laughter—God's good laughter, gift of all things that look back the sun—were to me devilish apparitions of a hate now first known; hate for hate's sake, cruelty for cruelty's sake. And as such they live in my memory, testimonies to the murky, aboriginal demon in man."⁵

Two of his friends who knew him intimately at school were much surprised when they learned later that he was so unhappy. His school environment was not a harsher one than that of other boys, but his nature was more sensitive, and he reacted to his surroundings by hating them and shrinking back still farther into the cavern of himself.

While a schoolboy his *præcox* tendency did no more harm than

³ Cf. Life by Meynell, p. 10.

⁴ Cf. Essay on Shelley. London, Burns & Oates, 1909, pp. 33-34.

⁵ Cf. Life by Meynell, p. 18.

mark him out as queer and indolent. He would not study what he did not like, for his *libido* as yet did not let him out of himself. But he loved literature and excelled all others in his English compositions. His parents were notified at the end of his college career that Francis had no vocation to the priesthood. His father, a successful physician, then determined that he should study medicine.

Here the conflict between his self-seeking and the duties of real life first commenced to be of serious moment. He would not study, and followed his life of dreaming; reading poetry in the libraries, and visiting museums and galleries. In one of these he sees a statue, the Vatican Melpomene, and thither each evening as twilight fell he would steal "to meditate and worship the baffling mysteries of her meaning." Much of his time was spent at the cricket field. In the evening he would often come home late, saying that he had been taking private instructions with one of the lecturers. It was later found that he was visiting the home of a musician, listening to him play the piano.

At about this time his mother—shortly before her death—gave him a copy of de Quincey's *Confessions of an Opium Eater*. Introduced thus innocently to the mysteries of opium he sought to experience himself what de Quincey described, and became an addict until the time of his awakening. After utterly failing in his medical studies, he left home and went to London, alone and penniless. This is to be explained as a further shrinking into himself. He could not bear to have those he loved look upon the ruin of his life, and so he went where no one would know and none would care. Here he became a veritable pariah, sleeping often in the open or in cheap lodging houses, doing odd jobs, trying but failing in his attempts to do business as a bootblack, spending on opium what pennies were spared by the stern demands of hunger.

During all this time, while he was following the drive of the *libido* at its lower levels, the conscience principle was not dead within him. His attitude of mind is expressed in the Hound of Heaven. He is flying the Divine voice of conscience. He will not turn to look though he hears the footsteps of the Master. He shrinks from conscience. He can not obey with a half-hearted service; he must seek God as the mystic seeks Him if he will seek at all

For though I knew His love Who followed,
Yet was I sore adread
Lest, having Him, I must have naught beside.

He feared lest he should in some way be driven into the conflict with his *libido*—a conflict which he had avoided from earliest childhood. It was this shrinking that made him fail in all but literature at college. He had not failed in that because it had helped him to live on in his world of dreams. Because he would not forsake this world of dreams, he disappointed his father, refusing even to enter on a medical career, wasting his days watching cricket, devoting the twilight to amorous musings over a statue, and seeking at night to feel the expression of his pent-up self while listening to the musical productions of the classic composers. But whether he stayed at home or sought to bury himself in the depths of darkest London, whether in the dreams of poetry he “troubled the golden gateway of the stars, smiting for shelter on their clangèd bars,” or following the *libido* drive, he “clung to the whistling mane of every wind,” whether he suffered the pangs of hunger in direst poverty or sought surcease of sorrow in drugged oblivion,

Still with unhurrying chase,
And unperturbèd pace,
Deliberate speed, majestic instancy,
Came on the following Feet,
And a voice above their beat,—
“Naught shelters thee, who wilt not shelter Me.”

In London he reached the lowest depths of his career. His turning point came in a very natural way—in an apparent accident of his life, which prepared him for a process of sublimation, the natural mechanism of man’s elevation to higher things. His first attempt at sublimation was precipitated by an act of kindness done him by a young girl, when, famished with hunger, he was an outcast in the streets of London. He describes this in a little poem entitled “A Child’s Kiss.” He tells of his long watching through the night, and how he thought he was dying of hunger.

Bled of strength
I waited the inevitable last.
Then there came past
A child, like thee, a spring flower; but a flower
Fallen from the budded coronal of Spring,
And through the city streets blown withering
She passed,—O brave, sad, loveliest, tender thing!—
And of her own scant pittance did she give,
That I might eat and live:
Then fled, a swift and trackless fugitive.

Were we to judge from the poem alone, we might think that this was a single kindly act of some poor waif who shared with him her crust of bread. But from Everard Meynell's life we learn more:

"This girl gave out of her scant and pitiable opulence, consisting of a room, warmth and food, and a cab thereto. When the streets were no longer crowded with shameful possibilities, she would think of the only tryst that her heart regarded, and, a sister of charity, would take her beggar into her vehicle at the appointed place and cherish him with an affection maidenly and motherly, and passionate in both these capacities. Two outcasts, they sat marveling that there were joys for them to unbury and to share."⁶

He had not been partaking of her hospitality long when he heard that one of his poems had been published, and that the editor of *Merry England* wanted to give him constant employment. He told his outcast hostess of his success, expecting her to rejoice with him. But instead, she told him that he must go to his new-found friends, and leave her. "They will not understand our friendship," she said, and then: "I always knew that you were a genius." And so she fled "a swift and trackless fugitive." In vain he sought her at the old trysting places. In vain he haunted the streets, looking for her. In vain he put off the offer of Mr. Meynell to accept permanent employment. She was lost beneath the vast human sea of darkest London.

The loss of this trackless fugitive was the "gust of His approach" that clashed to the gates through which his lower *libido* strivings had found their outlet. They could no longer flow in the same low channels. Were it not that these channels were closed at the same time higher ones were opened their closing might have resulted in mental disaster. But after he had sought his trackless fugitive long in vain, he allowed himself to come under the kindly saving influence of Mr. Meynell. He saw home life again, and again came in touch with innocent little children—not such as he had known in

the places infamous to tell
Where God wipes not the tears from any eyes.

Later, recalling the memory of his outcast days, he wrote, "Think of it! If Christ stood amidst your London slums, He could not say: 'Except ye become as one of *these* little children.' Far better

⁶ *Life*, pp. 81-82.

your children were cast over the bridges of London, than that they should become as one of these little ones.”⁷

What wonder, that when he was thrown again with real little children, sweet and innocent and clean, with Rose and Lily and Daisy and Daisy’s sister blossom or blossom sister Viola, he should learn to love them as he had never loved before.

I sought no more that after which I strayed
 In face of man or maid;
 But still within the little children’s eyes
 Seems something, something that replies,
They at least are for me, surely for me!

The girl who had befriended him was remembered as a little child, idealized and personified in childhood. It was his first sublimation—yet still the same *libido* flowing on—no longer carrying him downward in its torrent, but floating him gently upward to a higher spiritual level. In every child he saw the face of his trackless fugitive. And when he learned to love a little child, and kissed her innocently, it seemed to him as if he kissed her who gave him of her own scant pittance that he might eat and live. She lived in childhood as he writes to his child love in the poem entitled *A Child’s Kiss*.

Therefore I kissed in thee
 The heart of childhood, so divine for me,
 And her, through what sore ways,
 And what unchildish days,
 Borne from me now, as then, a trackless fugitive.
 Therefore I kissed in thee
 Her, child, and innocence,
 And spring, and all things that have gone from me,
 And all that shall never be;
 All vanished hopes, and all most hopeless bliss,
 Came with thee to my kiss.

These lines are but the description of the far-reaching sublimation of the lower *libido* strivings in his love of childhood. Several of his choicest poems tell of his love of children. It was a love which must have endured with him to the end—though it was capable of satisfying his soul for only a very brief period. In a poem entitled *The Poppy*, he tells how this beautiful and innocent sublimation commenced to crumble.

⁷ Cf. *Life by Meynell*, p. 80.

A child and man paced side by side,
Treading the skirts of eventide;
But between the clasp of his hand and hers
Lay, felt not, twenty withered years.

Suddenly the child plucks one of the poppies through which they are walking: plucks it and throws it to him.

She turn'd, with the rout of her dusk South hair,
And saw the sleeping gypsy there;
And snatched and snapped it in swift child's whim,
With—"Keep it, as long as you live!" to him.

The flower of sleep, plucked by the hand of a child and given to him as a token of love to be kept as long as he lived, awakened from oblivion the memory of his withered past.

And suddenly 'twixt his hand and hers
He knew the twenty withered years—
No flower, but twenty shriveled years.

The *libido* channels of those shriveled years have been blocked and the stream of desire forced upward to higher things, and now seeks an outlet in the love of childhood.

Oh! child, I love, for I love and know.

The love of the past is linked by memory to the love of the present and just at the moment when his heart is about to overflow in the channels of its sublimation, the past rises up to his mind and he realizes that he is a man and she a child, and between the two are his twenty shrivelled years; and guilt dares not seek fellowship with innocence. And then, besides, the loves he had known before were so short and fickle. Had he not known by experience

The diverse chambers in Love's guest-hall
Where some rise early, few sit long.

And what can be more fickle than the love of a child?

O frankly fickle and ficklely true,
Do you know what the days will do to you?
To your love and you what the days will do,
O frankly fickle and ficklely true?

And then he ponders sadly over his wasted life. He thinks of others, the friends of his childhood, who did not waste their youth, whose twenty years were not withered and shrivelled, but full of

days and works, fat and plump as the grains of wheat amid which the poppy—the withering flower of dreams—swayed its head. But he cannot contemplate the past without seeking compensation in the future. It is one of the necessities of the human heart to seek in some way to make good for the time and opportunities it has wasted. And so Francis Thompson sees in his own poems, which are but the expression of his agonies past and present, the means by which he is to make good his shriveled years and stand with honor beside the friends of his youth. The very sins of the past are to be transformed into the poems of the future, which would never have been written had he not wasted those twenty years, and then tried to express his withered, withered dreams.

I hang 'mid men my needless head,
And my fruit is dreams, as theirs is bread:
The goodly men and the sun-hazed sleeper
Time shall reap; but after the reaper
The world shall glean of me, the sleeper.

Of me, the sleeper! how pitiable this line rings when the image of the poet rises up to our minds, drugged and unconscious in darkest London.

About this time there became active another force which helped to lead him from the lower levels of his libido striving. He gives us an account of this in the charming personal little poem, *Manus Animam pinxit*. The psychoanalyst will find therein many expressions which indicate the sublimation of a merely human love and bear witness to the struggle which went on in a noble mind in its passage “per aspera ad astra.” Havig loved with a carnal love we find him in this poem painting an ideal woman to whom he cries,

Lady, who hold'st on me dominion!
Within your spirit's arms I stay me fast
Against the fell
Immitigate ravening of the gates of hell.

He feels, with perhaps an element of masochism in the feeling, his utter dependence upon her.

Like to a wind-sown sapling grow I from
The cleft, Sweet, of your skyward-jutting soul.

He begs her to be true to her soul as he is to her.

For if that soil grow sterile, then the whole
Of me must shrivel, from the topmost shoot

Of climbing poesy, and my life, killed through
Dry down and perish to the foodless root.

He asks her, his chastest one, to take his curbed spirit and

This soul, which on your soul is laid
As maid's breast against breast of maid.

She has engraved her soul upon his own. Her love has made him like herself. "The copy is a painful one, and with long labor done." If she doubts, let her come and look.

Your beauty, Dian, dress and contemplate
Within a pool to Dian consecrate!
Unveil this spirit, lady, when you will,
For unto all but you 'tis veiled still:
Unveil, and fearless gaze there, you alone,
And if you love the image—'tis your own.

The same *libido* which he now terms "the immitigate ravening of the gates of hell" enters into this picture of his spiritualized ideal. It lends a charm to the labor of love—the transformation of his life that he may gain the respect of one who did not shrink from the depth of his degradation. It lent a charm, a peculiar indescribable attractiveness to this "chaste and intelligential love." But it did not drive him on as the lower libido did only a little while ago. Then he was a passive being, incapable of any exertion. But now he experiences something wholly new—painful and sustained effort—the domination of the libido. And yet this domination, "most hardly won," by long and painful labor, is assisted by the *libido* itself, whose lower outlets have been blocked and now flows over, lending a sensual charm to his spiritualized ideal. He was perhaps innocently ignorant of the real source and cause of the tenderness of his love and the pleasure he took in yielding to this lady the dominion of his soul. But nevertheless he felt this charm, whether its source and origin was utterly unconscious or flitted about on the outskirts of his mind. But this charm was not the only factor; it simply aided in a battle "most hardly won," which gave him a claim "of chaste fidelity upon the chaste."

Simultaneous, apparently, with the influence of this lady—who formed the subject of the poems entitled Love in Dian's Lap—there seems to have come to him the realization that the love of childhood could not give complete and perfect satisfaction to his human heart. Their very innocence reproached him and brought

up to his mind the memory of his withered years. The period during which he first poured out his soul in the love of little children seems to have been a short one. It was the reaction of his mind to the beauty of a life that he felt could never be his—when he passed from the squalor of London poverty to be an honored guest in happy English homes. But it was not long before he realized that there were many reasons why the love of children and of childhood could not give his soul that satisfaction which it craved. This realization developed a hundredfold the feeling of guilt and unworthiness that oppressed his soul. Therefore, he utters the complaint that

... just as their young eyes grew sudden fair
 With dawning answers there,
 Their angel plucked them from me by the hair.

From children, he turned to Nature. Several of his poems reflect the attempt of a poet to slake the thirst of his human soul in the beauty of Nature. She was to him a personal something "Few," he says, "seem to realize that she is alive, has almost as many ways as a woman, and is to be lived with, not merely looked at."⁸ He went so far even as to sleep at night in the woods that he might live with his new-found spouse. He sought to know her—but know her in a poetic fashion, and dream about her, as once he dreamed about his doll, and later of the statue in the museum with which as a boy he had fallen in love. Though he vainly boasts of his knowledge of Nature, "he could not distinguish the oak from the elm, nor did he know the names of the commonest flowers in the field."⁹ What he contemplates in nature is not science but beauties which express the subconscious yearnings of his soul.

Love and love's beauty only hold their revels
 In life's familiar, penetrable levels.¹⁰

Turning then from the children of men he calls to Nature's children,

Come then, ye other children, Nature's—share
 With me (said I) your delicate fellowship;
 Let me greet you lip to lip,
 Let we twine with you caresses,
 Wantoning

⁸ In a letter to Mrs. Meynell. *Life*, p. 131.

⁹ *Life*, p. 131.

¹⁰ Poet and Anchorite.

With our Lady-Mother's vagrant tresses,
 Banqueting
 With her in her wind-walled palace,
 Underneath her azured daïs.

It was not long before he felt the coldness of Nature's response. His night in the woods seems never to have been repeated. In an essay on Nature's Immortality he expresses in prose his dissatisfaction with this attempt at sublimation. "You speak, and you think she answers you. It is the echo of your own voice. You think you hear the throbbing of her heart, and it is the throbbing of your own. I do not believe that Nature has a heart; and I suspect, that like many another beauty, she has been credited with a heart because of her face."¹¹

In the Hound of Heaven the same complaint is uttered in more symbolic language. With perhaps a memory of his night spent voluntarily in the woods or perhaps of those many nights when poverty forced him to sleep beneath the stars, he says:

Against the red throb of its sunset-heart
 I laid my own to beat,
 And share commingling heat;
 But not by that, by that, was eased my human smart.
 In vain my tears were wet on Heaven's grey cheek.
 For ah! we know not what each other says,
 These things and I; in sound *I* speak—
Their sound is but their stir, they speak by silences.
 Nature, poor stepdame, cannot slake my drouth;
 Let her, if she would owe me,
 Drop yon blue bosom-veil of sky, and show me
 The breasts o' her tenderness:
 Never did any milk of hers once bless
 My thirsting mouth.

Francis Thompson was slowly being made to realize that life does not consist in dreaming, and that he could not be satisfied by shutting himself up within the narrow confines of his own petty spirit. His burial in darkest London had terminated in a resurrection—a coming to life, which he had done but little to accomplish. In the depths of London he had found his child love

Fallen from the budded coronal of Spring a flower,
 And through the city-streets blown withering.

¹¹ A Renegade Poet and Other Essays, Francis Thompson, Boston, 1910, pp. 95-96.

He had found her, but to lose her, and be wakened suddenly by the pang of her loss from the sleep of his dream life with her. And when she remained a trackless fugitive, he could no longer hide himself in a tomb now made chilly by her absence. And so he left this tomb and came to life again. And then he sought to shrink back once more from the sunlight of real life and return to childhood in the love of children. Life brought him once more face to face with cold practical duty. It forced obligations upon him that were incompatible with the pleasures of his dreams; obligations from which all his life he had fled. By flight, however, he did not escape from the conflict going on within him, but merely changed the battlefield. In one form or another the insistence of the real world was ever threatening to break into the citadel of his dreams and disturb the peaceful slumber of his sublimated selfishness. This insistence seemed to grow louder and louder as one attempted sublimation after another was dissipated into nothingness. It was a voice speaking within his soul. It seemed to be more than the ordinary dictates of conscience. He was literally pursued by a Divine Personality who allowed him no escape, for,

if one little casement opened wide,
The gust of His approach would clash it to.
Fear wist not to evade, as Love wist to pursue.

Gone was his trackless fugitive—gone too the peace and joy he hoped to find in the love of childhood, in which she was personified, and when he turned to Nature, he did not even find the outlet for his affections which a poet's spirit had anticipated. There is no hope, there is no joy, there is no peace in any dream.

Nigh and nigh, draws the chase,
With unperturbed pace,
Deliberate speed, majestic instancy,
And past those noised Feet
A Voice comes yet more fleet—
Lo! naught contents thee, who content'st not Me.

The ideal of duty rises in his mind in spite of him. He has no choice. He must compare what he is with what he might have been, the waste of dreams with the accomplishment of reality, his twenty withered years with the two decades his schoolmates have made to blossom and bear fruit heavy with utility. How utterly hopeless the present seems, how sinful the waste of the past!

In the rash lustihood of my young powers,
I shook the pillaring hours
And pulled my life upon me; grimed with smears,
I stand amid the dust o' the mounded years—
My mangled youth lies dead beneath the heap.
My days have crackled and gone up in smoke,
Have puffed and burst as sun starts on a stream.

Those who are blessed with the fruits of this world's loveliness, those who have a home, a place, a position and wealth enough to make the wheels of life's chariot roll on with ease, and good fame sufficient to gain the credit and applause of their own neighbors—these may find sublimations that will offer a measure of human peace and content which is illumined only by the shadow of Divinity. But those who like Francis Thompson look back upon their withered shriveled life, who with him must say

My freshness spent its wavering shower i' the dust;
And now my heart is as a broken fount,
Wherein tear-drippings stagnate, spilt down ever
From the dank thoughts that
Shiver upon the sighful branches of my mind.

For such as these there is no human consolation, there is no natural power of sublimation, there is no object on which the heart can set its affections, there is no hope of happiness, for man cannot be happy unless he loves and is loved again in return.

Who cares for the fallen creature "forlorn and faint and stark" who homeless wanders the streets enduring "through watches of the dark the abashless inquisition of each star," who is the very "outcast mark of all those heavenly passers' scrutiny," suffering "the trampling hoof of every hour in night's slow-wheeled car"—who cares for the fallen outcast? And if he cares enough to help, can any care enough to love? But has not the outcast a human heart, and is not that heart like all human hearts who in order to be happy must love and be loved again? And so for him whose Spring has vanished utterly, whose hopes are extinguished, and whose days are told—there is none to whom he dares to turn.

It was this that Francis Thompson experienced when he felt as if the unseen Christ said to him

Strange, piteous, futile thing,
Wherefore should any set thee, love, apart?
Seeing none but I makes much of naught.
And human love needs human meriting:

How hast thou merited—
 Of all man's clotted clay the dingiest clot?
 Alack, thou knowest not
 How little worthy of any love thou art!
 Whom wilt thou find to love ignoble thee
 Save Me, save only Me?

Whatever some may think of the nature of a religious sublimation, few will deny its utility, or fail to recognize that in many cases it gives the only hope of alleviation in mental difficulties where to reconcile opposing forces is impossible. To Francis Thompson final submission to the voice of conscience, the demands of reality and the dictates of religion came as a last resort when his "libido striving" had worn itself out in every other path open to his peculiar nature.

Were we to judge him by his poem, and see him the strange, piteous, futile thing finally overtaken by the following feet of the Hound of Heaven, utterly overcome but surprised to find that his gloom, after all, is but "the shade of His hand, outstretched caressingly," we might expect a complete transformation, a conversion similar perhaps to that of St. Augustine. But no, Francis Thompson, though much changed, was no saint. The conflict between the *libido* and the spiritual ideal, though terminated in a religious sublimation, was not settled so satisfactorily that the ideal of duty triumphed wholly and forever afterwards.

In the life and poems we have just studied we see exemplified the strife between pleasure and reality which psychoanalysts term the conflict. The concept, however, is as old as human experience. Thus St. Paul wrote: "I see another law in my members, fighting against the law of my mind, and captivating me in the law of sin" (Rom. VII, 23). Thus also Kant describes the conflict as the struggle between the sensory self of childhood and the intellectual self that is developed by the ideal of duty and the insistence of the categorical imperative. But only in recent times have the unconscious elements in the conflict been duly appreciated and the relation of the conflict to the neuroses detected.

Sigmund Freud gave clear expression to these ideas in 1911 in an article entitled *Formulierung über die zwei Prinzipien des psychischen Geschehens*.¹²

¹² Cf. Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen, III, pp. 1-8.

In this article he maintains that the two principles which govern all mental phenomena are the pleasure-pain and the reality principles. Of these the most primitive is the pleasure-pain principle. The infant is governed solely by this primitive driving force. By gestures or cries he makes known his wants, and they are no sooner made known than a tender mother or attentive nurse tries to hush the crying and give the child the little pleasure that it seeks. Thus it seems to the child that it only has to wish in order to have its wants satisfied. But as life goes on it learns by one experience after another that wishes do not always come true—that it may desire and desire and desire again and still the much sought indulgence is not indulged. It is then face to face with reality. Before, the child had lived its life of whims and fancies all alone to itself. It awakens at last to the startling and bitter truth that its fancies may be unrealized, that there is a world of dreams and a world of reality and that the two stand over against each other in irreconcilable conflict.

This realization forces a process of adaptation to the world as it is, a process in which the pleasure-pain principle commences to yield to the reality principle. Two selves commence to be built up—the Ego of Pleasure and the Ego of Reality. The pleasure-ego knows nothing but wishing and the real-ego looks only at utility. "Bernard Shaw," says Freud, "has well expressed the advantage that the Ego of Reality has over against the Ego of Pleasure: 'to be able to choose the line of greatest advantage instead of yielding in the direction of least resistance.'"¹³

If one is to shield himself from harm he must often give up the present pleasure for a future advantage, and here arises the strife—and here is the origin of the conflict. The primitive unconscious strivings of the Ego of Pleasure demand the present pleasure without regard to consequences. The conscious demands of the Ego of Reality with its insight into the future urge the renunciation of a present gain to ward off a future calamity.

When the pleasure-pain principle cannot attain its end, because it is blocked and thwarted by the barriers and counter trends of the real world, it seeks an outlet in the world of phantasy—in plays and day dreams and vain imaginings.

When the world of reality is all too harsh and dreadful, and the constitution of the individual is unequal to the burdens thrown upon it, the reaction is extreme, and we have the abnormal behavior of the neurotic.

¹³ Cf. *Man and Superman—A Comedy and a Philosophy*, I. c., p. 5.

The division Freud makes between the pleasure-pain and the reality principle is complete—if we understand by reality all that is opposed to the blind seeking of satisfaction. When, however, we commence to study the checks upon the pleasure-pain principle we find that Freud has not brought everything to light.

As the individual's life develops he often finds that the fulfilment of his wishes is blocked by objective reality, because that which is *hic et nunc* desired is not *hic et nunc* available. Again, a wish is left unfulfilled because one has learned by experience or hearsay that it is bound up with a future evil. All this Freud recognizes, but here he stops. Now, over and above the restrictions he points out—the limitations namely of impossibility and of expediency—is the restriction of the "ought." In many individuals the limitations imposed by a sense of duty are far greater and more insistent than those demanded by pure expediency and sheer impossibility. The conscience principle, therefore, is one that should be recognized and it might be conveniently distinguished from the reality principle as the subjective is from the objective.

In the concept of the conflict, the conscience principle is of supreme importance. For it often happens that there is no real conflict between desire and its mere physical fulfilment, or between desire and one's sense of expediency, but mainly and above all between desire and the sense of duty.

This is the conflict that we see reflected in the Hound of Heaven. The soul fears that if it stops and listens to the voice of conscience it must renounce all its desires and therefore it flies. In this flight it is not merely doing what is inexpedient and foolish—or whining because what it wants cannot be had—but it is flying from the voice of God, the Designer Infinite, to Whom the soul is bound by ties of love.

It is the *libido* that drives it on whether the soul is "shot precipitated adown Titanic Glooms of chasmed fears" or "troubles the the golden gateway of the stars, smiting for shelter on their clangéd bars." While the *libido* drives, conscience calls and no matter where the libido may go, conscience always follows after. It is a human force divinized by union with the Deity. Hence, the ideals of duty and the apparent accidents of life concur to block the lower outlets for the *libido*, and direct it from one channel to another, until it arrives at a religious sublimation and conscience triumphs in the conquest of *libido*.

True it is that no matter what is sought, there is one common ele-

ment in the seeking; whether in the depths of its degradation or in the height of its sublimation, the mind is ever aiming consciously, or unconsciously, at one and the same thing. With the Freudians, this is some aspect of the sexual. But Francis Thompson, whose mind was leavened by Thomistic traditions, regards this one thing as the good—the true good, the one supreme good, the Personal Ideal of the conscience principle. What man really desires is the True and Perfect Good, that which alone can fully satisfy the heart. The Infinite Good is, after all, the driving force of human nature. One seeks and seeks again and finds not till desire gives place to will and *libido* is overcome by conscience.

Ah, fondest, blindest, weakest,
I am He whom thou seekest!
Thou dravest love from thee, who dravest Me.

A LACE CREATION REVEALING AN INCEST FANTASY

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The necessity for self-expression has always been one of the paramount elements in the psyche of the individual. In proportion to his ability to express that which animates him, does he develop. In proportion to the completeness with which his self-expression is also the expression of the self of others, is he of value to society. Hence, we find the man whose self contains the correlation and direction of many diverse lines of energy developing immense constructive or manufacturing businesses. Two instances of this stand out preëminently: Henry Ford, to whom the automobile industry owes so much, and James Hill, that wonderful man who developed our great Northwest. There is also the man whose mechanical genius is urging him forward, to find self-expression in many inventions; Thomas Edison, Marconi, the Wright Brothers: the man whose ideal of beauty urges him to construction with perfectly balanced lines; the great architects and builders: the man with marked administrative ability: as well as the craftsman, who merely loves to make the same thing over and over in constantly increasing perfection. Raphael's efforts at self-expression produced those marvelous canvases. The angel which beckoned Michael Angelo from the block of marble was his self struggling for expression. Beethoven and Mozart but wrote their own souls. The neat and orderly woman finds self-expression in the keeping of an immaculate house, a family properly fed and cared for in all ways, children led lovingly through the difficult mazes of childhood and adolescence.

To the great majority of women, needle-work is imperative. One, who has a constructive mind, finds her self-expression in the designing and making of garments; another, who has the artificer's delight in exquisite craftsmanship, can only express herself by the tiniest and daintiest of stitches. She will sew for the pure delight of sewing, and turns by choice to the making of fine embroidery and laces.

The history of lace-making is most interesting. It developed

almost entirely in Europe. Women had lost their primitive freedom, and were relieved of their agricultural pursuits. They were turning more and more to their homes, to the exclusion of all else, or to the delights of religion. Many were mistresses of large establishments with many waiting women, and many were in the nunneries. The making of lace gave them opportunity for expression. The nuns, especially, made their work to glorify God, and many exquisite pieces are still in existence which have been used in the churches. Their patterns were usually a weaving of the symbols of the church, or representations of the saints in some attitude of ecstasy or devotion.

From the earliest life of mankind has this necessity for self-expression been present. It furnished the race with their ideals, as distinct from the necessities of food and shelter. Line drawings were probably their first attempt, as it is yet the first attempt of the child, and there is a similarity, amounting in many instances to identity, between the early drawings of the race, and the crude men, dogs, cows, etc., which the child produces. Attempts at round representation resulted in the crudest of images from clay, wood, or metal, not far removed in appearance from our mud-pie days.

Most of us find our expression along well-recognized and useful lines, because of the demands of society, and also, because of the censor of consciousness. That small class of individuals who are unable to accede to the demands of society, and are finally segregated in institutions for the insane, for whom the censor is often tricked or overwhelmed, give expression to their unconscious with a freedom and naïveté that is most enlightening. Words, often obscene and vulgar words, are heard on all sides. Frequent destruction of property or clothing is the recourse of others. While many work very well, others are unable to hold themselves to any definite task. These, among the women, most often turn to their needle and thread. They decorate their clothing with embroidery, which is often designed entirely by the patient and worked without a pattern. One woman in St. Elizabeth's Hospital is dressed almost entirely in lace of her own manufacture. One patient covers bits of muslin almost solidly with her embroidery, then wears them as head-dresses, shawls, or aprons. Another has made a complete dress and hat from white muslin covered with brilliant red and blue embroideries of lines and tracings, flowers, and even human figures. Most often this is very primitive, bearing a strong resemblance to the early productions of the race. Occasionally a piece of work has very great analytical possibilities. Such is the piece of needle-point

which is the subject of this study. Before we can learn much from it, however, we should know something of the woman who made it.

She was born in Virginia in 1863, eighth child in a family of nine. Her father, a captain in the Confederate Army, was a periodic drunkard, and was described as being very mean and cruel when drunk. Her mother died of tuberculosis before she can remember. An older sister took charge of the family, and life went on normally. Virginia, as we shall call her, received a good common-school education, and was considered very bright. Her sister married and established her own home, leaving Virginia to manage her father's household. After a longer or shorter time, the sister, Mrs. Brown, took Virginia to her home. She was very kindly treated by her brother-in-law, Edward Brown. She went to school again a short time, but soon learned dressmaking, and began to support herself. She loved this work: it never seemed like work to her, but always pleasure. Indeed, she says she cannot remember when she learned to sew, it seemed as if she always knew how. During her wage-earning career she became addicted to morphine, and also became the mistress of several men. In 1901, she had her first attack of mental disease. She was then greatly depressed and full of self-accusatory ideas; said she had committed a terrible crime, had taken things which did not belong to her, and was accused of killing some one. She was also quite anxious, cried a great deal, and picked at her nails. She went through a fantasy pregnancy, even getting all of her baby clothes ready. She became better, when she would have periods of mild excitement. Her favorite amusement or method of amusing others, perhaps, at this time, was to imitate the conduct of a drunken man. She recovered, became energetic and cheerful, and was allowed the privilege of sewing for the employees of the hospital until she had accumulated sufficient funds to help her become reëstablished, when she was discharged, after thirteen months' treatment. She again took up her work as dressmaker, and had a small apartment. She never married. She gradually returned to her former habits of living, and has told us that she drank and lived at times in houses of prostitution. Her sisters have denied this, as they believed all of her self-accusatory ideas to be delusional. All went well, however, until the winter of 1910-11, when she again became depressed, restless, nervous and sleepless, sometimes talkative and sometimes lacrimose, and it was necessary to return her to St. Elizabeth's. She was then passing through the menopause. Her physical examination revealed only the presence of syphilis, an

old infection, and that the *entritus vaginæ* was marital. Mentally, she was depressed and retarded, timid, apprehensive, and anxious, confused and disoriented. She saw shadows of things flying about her and heard the voice of her dead brother calling to her. She felt electricity and thought "some one was doing tricks on her." Her memory was rather dilapidated, and her general intelligence was also poor. For the first two months she remained depressed. A mistaken identity of persons began to annoy her. During the third month she became excited, profane, obscene in language, untidy, destructive, breaking flower pots, dishes, chairs and tables, and even assaulted the other patients. She became oriented about this time. This phase lasted a little less than a month, when she was again dull, apprehensive and lacrimose. She emerged from this to become fairly comfortable. She became able to work with fair efficiency about the ward, and later, in the hospital sewing room. She remained distrustful of every one, was easily irritated, and still had outbursts of weeping when she bemoaned the fact that she had no home, and no friends. She gradually settled into a chronic state, and has now for nearly six years showed recurrent cycles of mild excitement, with some destructiveness and obscenity, and a dullness and indifference which were deadening. She has grown more deteriorated, the unconscious is allowed freer and freer expression, and she has lost her ability to do acceptable work. Self-expression, however, has remained imperative, and what more natural than that she should use the implements of her old trade. One year she made herself a rag doll, with which she spent many happy hours. Later, she developed the habit of raveling her hose, and using the thread so obtained to make lace for her clothing, and to embroider ordinary designs upon them; this, in her periods of comparative peace. During the spring of 1917, when she began her embroidery and lace-making, her nurse gave her some bits of old white cotton. These she raveled, and with the threads made the piece of needlepoint which is pictured. She was not disturbed while making this. Unfortunately soon after its completion, she entered her period of dullness, and all attempts at learning its meaning had to be postponed. About six months later she was bright, accessible, and eager to talk. When she was shown her piece of lace, she hailed it with delight and was quite happy to explain it.

Analysis revealed much of interest contributory to the needlepoint, but not directly told there, and it will probably be best to go over that first. As already said, Virginia showed considerable dilapi-

dation from the first. It seems that the only things left in her mind are those bearing directly upon her complex. She, who was next to the youngest in a large family, which may be called the ordinary American family, must have received much care and attention from her older brothers and sisters. Yet, she has no recall for any such happy episodes. Her mother's image has become very faint, if indeed it was ever very strong. She casually spoke of never remembering her mother; she said she could not remember of there ever being a mother in the house, no one was ever called Mrs. Hall, and she never heard her father speak of any one who might have been his wife. Although she would tell, when questioned, that her eldest sister had taken her mother's place, her spontaneous productions concerning her always were of events after the sister's marriage and removal from their home. Her other brothers and sisters never appeared in any of her memories, excepting one brother, whom she said shared the bed with herself and her father. Her father, however, becomes of enormous importance. Indeed, her world seemed made only of herself and her father. Yet, it was most difficult for her to call him father. She usually referred to him as "Mr. Hall," "old Jim Hall," "the man I used to live with who said he was my father," "the first man I ever slept with," or "that old man down in Virginia." She would not admit any filial affection for him. Indeed she usually put her thought in the negative form; "well, I don't know as I *disliked* him so much." She said he was always cursing and swearing, and was known as a big drunk. There were many stories of the way he used to beat her. These were all told with a strong sadistic-masochistic relish, and seemed to loom large to her in the retrospective. They were probably but the efforts of a misguided man to bring up his motherless baby girl. Two of these stories are illustrative of all. One Christmas she peeped to see who was filling her stockings, and found her father so engaged. He became terribly angry, pulled her out of bed, and beat her with a strap until the blood came. One night she wet the bed. Again he became terribly angry, pulled her out of bed, removed her clothing, and beat her with a strap until the blood came. The strong sexual meaning of such episodes as this is taught us by Freud in his work.

Another large part of her memories are concerned with living in the barn. For some reason not known to the child, the house was sold and the family lived in the barn, which was made into a suitable dwelling place for them. She was able to furnish it only with a table, two or three old chairs, and a bed, and there never

seemed to be any one living there but herself and her father. It remained a barn to her mind; it never became softened to a home by the fact that it was the dwelling place of the family. The most of her fantasies were placed there. She thought she remembered of being locked in a burning closet, when some man released her. Once she was locked upstairs when "everything" was burning, and a man released her. It was here that she was her father's housekeeper. The sexual value of this is over-determined. The barn itself, because it is the home of the familiar domestic animals and the place of their mating, is a strong sexual symbol, and she has reinforced it by the two fantasies of being locked in a burning room, to be released by a man (her father). This living in the barn was to her an actual stepping down to lower levels, which has become symbolic of her own wrecked life. The voices now say of her, "Oh, she just lived in a barn all of her life."

During her early childhood she occupied her father's bed, and she insisted that she slept with him until she was about thirteen years old. The two stories given of his beating her occurred when she was his bed fellow. There is no way of checking this up with the facts now, but nothing could be truer to her own mind, or of greater influence over her life. The more likely thing, again to return to probabilities, is that this is the only way her father could care for her at night when she was a baby and a tiny girl; that it became very firmly fixed in her mind and of a very profound sexual significance to her, so that now she carries the memory over to the time when she was thirteen, that is, to the beginning of adolescence and the awakening of her sexual instincts. The censor of consciousness will not allow such a thought to quite overstep the danger line, or to incur the disapprobation of society, by her remaining in her father's bed after that time.

Nearly all the incidents of her childhood, told of by Virginia, occurred when she "was about thirteen." It seemed as if she placed them all where she would be able to appreciate them fully, and yet could not be held responsible.

Only one memory was pleasant. She and her father were in the habit of taking their dinner into the woods during the spring and summer, and eating picnic fashion. This they both very thoroughly enjoyed. Always after dinner her father would lie down with his head in her lap, and go to sleep while she combed his hair. This is replete with symbolism. Among the happiest moments of childhood are the family picnics, when the family, with no one else, that is,

with no one alien to their community of thought and experience, leave society with its constant demands and repressions, go into the woods, where, with the surroundings of primitive man, they can revert for a few hours to an earlier period of their phylum. The rest and refreshment so obtained is in proportion to the completeness of the return. Virginia even reproduced the primitive custom of holding her lord's head in her lap while he slept. In this connection, we remember that Delilah held the head of Samson in her lap and lulled him to sleep. The hair of the head often represents the individual. Frazer, in *The Golden Bough*, teaches that it has a large place in early ritual; it was one of the earliest substitutes for human sacrifice. Its manner of dressing contained much significance. The Nazarites and many other early priesthoods would never let it be cut; a girl would let it be known whether she were maid or matron by its arrangement, and the custom of short hair for men and long hair for women is so deeply ingrained that today a long-haired man will practically always be found to be effeminate, and a short-haired woman, masculine. In combing her father's hair, Virginia put him into a relation of dependence upon, and pleasure-seeking toward her, which was very archaic, and toward which there was no taboo. Hence, this memory has remained to her dilapidated mind, and is freighted full of the pleasure of her life with him, which she cannot admit in any other instance.

Her sister, Mrs. Brown, finally took Virginia to her home. This, again, Virginia assigns to "the time when she was about thirteen," that is, at the time of her sexual awakening. She never saw her father again, although she heard from him, and helped support him after she became a wage-earner. He disappeared from her life, and died many years later. Yet, in another way, he has never disappeared from her life, and she now says that she does not believe he is dead, anyway. Her brother-in-law, Edward, became her father's surrogate. This love was not so impossible to her unconscious, and she now freely and frequently says that Edward Brown was the first man she ever loved. The fact that he was her sister's husband presented no problem which could compare with that of her incestuous regard for her father, so the censor was tricked to pass the masquerade. In the years to follow, this love was replaced by another, and again by another, until there were at least three men, and probably four, for whom she entertained so high a regard that they are still present among her dilapidated memories. One of these was a business man, one a newspaper writer of

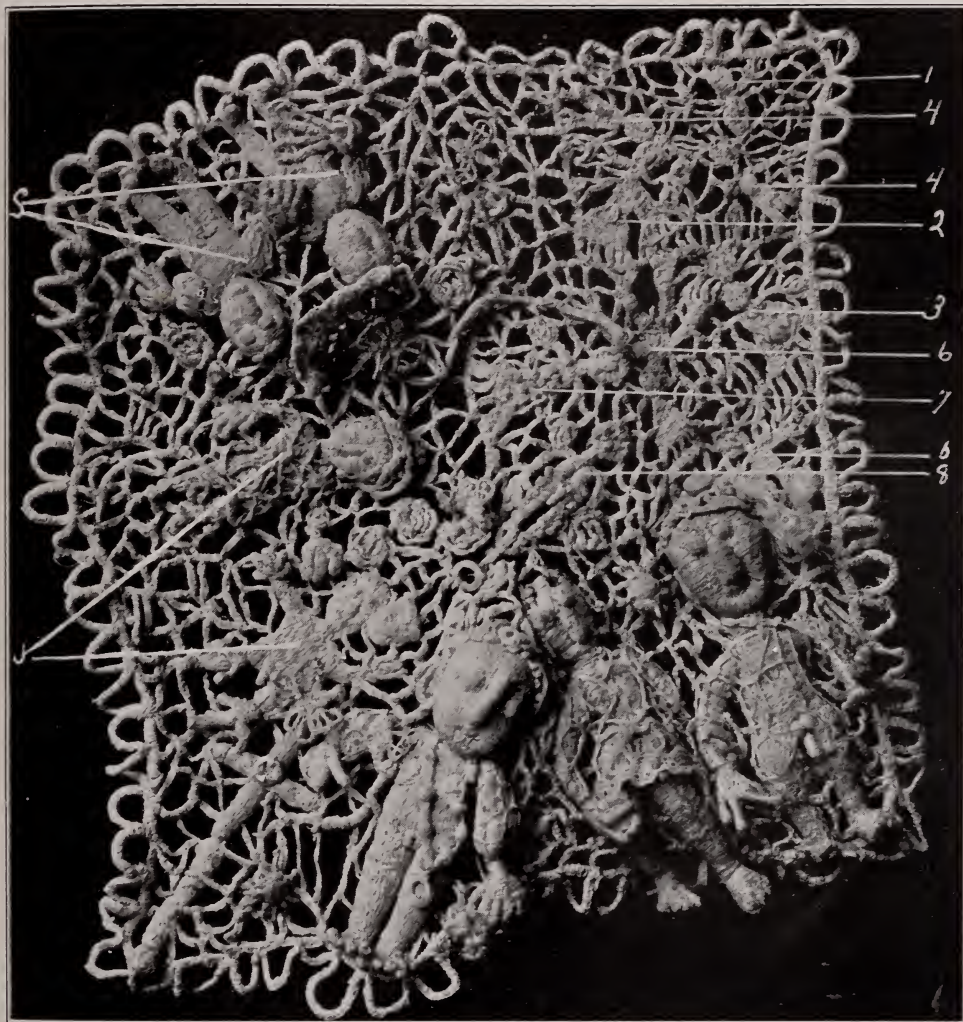
some success, and one a government worker. While her memory of each one is distinct, and there is no tendency to confuse them, yet there is a strong tendency to fuse them together into one image, her father. The last one has now the most clearly defined personality to her, yet she says of him, as she does of the others, that he looked like Mr. Hall; she knew him as long as she had known Mr. Hall; that she sometimes thought he must be the *first* man she ever slept with. The ability to see multiple personalities in any one with whom she is in contact is very prominent. While she knows, beyond question, the real individual, the real individual is never separated from several others whom she has known in the years gone by. Her nurses are themselves, and Mrs. Brown. The plumbers, electricians, carpenters, etc., of the hospital, although recognized by her in their true characters, are also her former paramours, sometimes one man carrying several such superimposed personalities. But they are all, always, and at all times, "the old, old man down in Virginia."

Her dreams are also full of interest. The hopelessness of her state of mind is shown in this one: She wanted a drink of water, but could not get out of the door to get it. The drink of water typified everything that was restful and refreshing, everything that was "clean, oh, so clean!" and was like being in heaven. The door out of which she could not get called forth this sentence: "The doors of hell and heaven shall be barred against two who have sinned against Almighty God." Although she called the sin against Almighty God rape, knowledge of her fantasies, and also, the piece of lace, leads one to believe that it is much more serious, incest. Another dream she told as follows: "I thought I went by houses and houses, oh, so many of them, and I went up steps, and I went down steps, and I looked in the houses. And there were three beads, oh, such beautiful gold beads lying on the ground. And I picked up one, and it was all right; and I picked up another, and it was all right; and I picked up the third bead, and I began going down, and going down, and going down. Oh, it was just awful, and I was so scared. And the water rushed up and covered me, and I was so scared. And I called to a man who was going by, and he did not pay any attention."

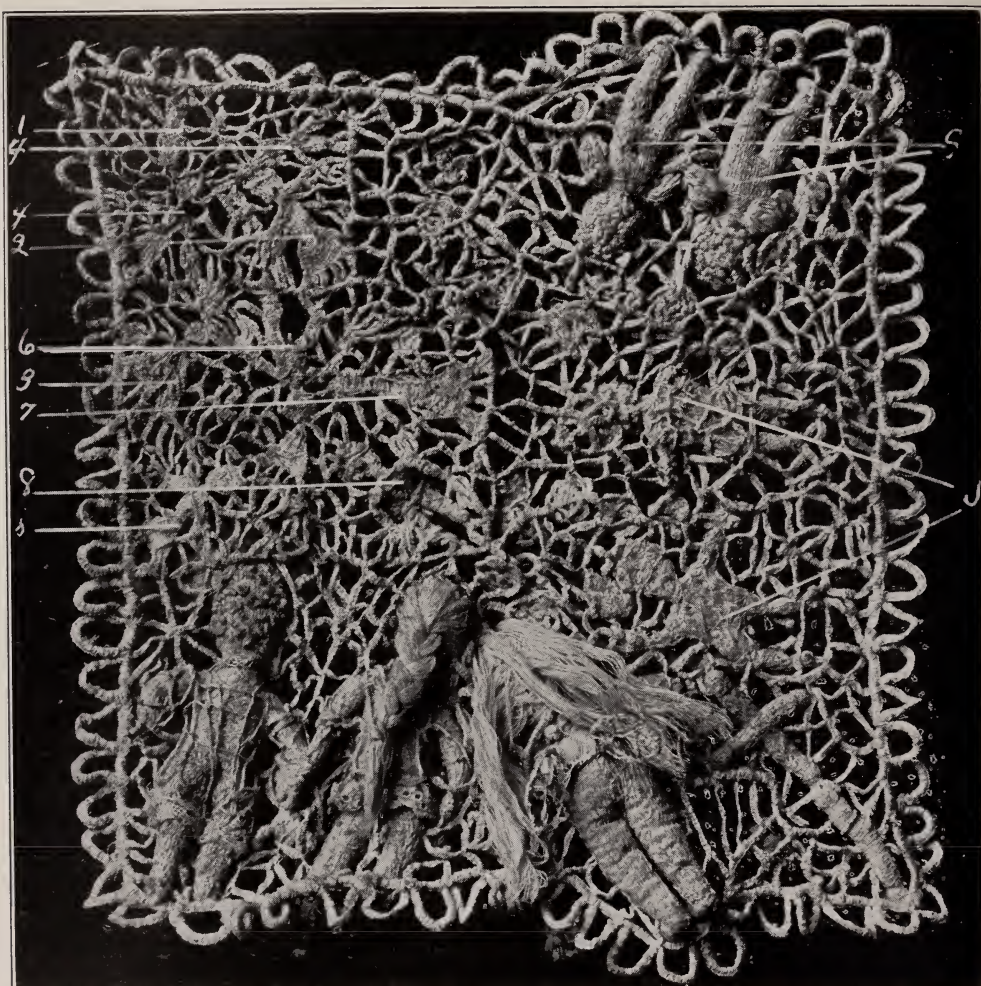
Although every word of this dream is rich, the greatest interest begins with the third bead. *Three* and *bead* both have their ordinary symbolism; they stand for the male. The third bead is "the highest in the country, the President." It also "had the most treachery in it, and was the sin committed against Almighty God," *i. e.*,

the sin of incest. The going down, and going down, was a continual slipping backward "because she could not hold herself up." To water, she promptly associated the story of Nicodemus, the young man who came to Jesus, by night, and was told that he must be born again, but her association consisted, first, of Nicodemus's answer to Jesus, "can a man enter the second time into his mother's womb to be born?" The man who paid no attention to her calls, was each one of her lovers, and also, "the old, old man down in Virginia." Thus, in her dream, she lived again her losing struggle against the curse of the third bead, the result of which would be a return to the intra-uterine existence, while her father was oblivious of her danger.

This piece of lace is made from the raveled threads of old soft white muslin, some of the larger figures being fashioned from bits of the cloth, stuffed with scraps of the same material, and the surface carefully darned into shape with ravelings, or, in some instances, with sewing thread. The smaller figures are darned flat, and the connecting lace mesh is made of the button-hole stitch worked over loops of thread. When it was completed, it was set by the same stitch within the hem of an old handkerchief, which was also button-holed, and the finish of button-holed loops put around the outside. In looking at this, we see it is divided unevenly into an upper and a lower portion, the upper portion again being divided into a right and a left half. That quadrant, which consists of the flat darned figures, was the portion upon which she began to work, and of all the figures, No. 1 was the first one made. This she says is the figure of St. Joseph, "who will get you a husband if you pray to him for one." This belief, that St. Joseph will provide husbands for those who wish them, is quite widespread, and it is by no means uncommon for adolescent girls to carry just such a little shapeless image as this about with them, more in a spirit of fun and unconscious wish fulfillment, than in deep spirit of belief. I am unable to find any authority for this office which has been bestowed upon St. Joseph. It is probably an attribute which has been added to his other characteristics, because of the account of his marriage to Mary, as given in the apocryphal writings. When forty years old, Joseph had married Melcha. To them were born six children. After forty-nine years, Melcha died. A year later, the priests announced throughout Judea that they wished to find in the tribe of Judah a respectable man to espouse Mary, then twelve or fourteen years old. Joseph, being then ninety years old, went up to Jerusa-



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lem among the candidates, and a miracle manifested to the priests that he was the choice of God. Two years later, the Annunciation took place. What more natural then, than that the benevolent old man who, as though by a miracle, had provided the most loved of young girls with a husband, should be besought to use his influence for others.

True to her ability to see many personalities in one, this figure is also St. Michael. Now St. Michael is one of the most important angels. His name, which means "Who is like God!", was the war cry of the good angels in the battle fought in Heaven against Satan and his followers. He is mentioned by name four times in the Bible. "Lo—Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me" (Dan. 10-13). "And at that time shall Michael stand up, the prince which standeth for the children of thy people" (Dan. 12-1). "And there was war in Heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought, and his angels, and prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in Heaven" (Rev. 12-7). "Yet Michael, the archangel, when contending with the devil, he disputed about the body of Moses" (Jud. 9). He is supposed to guard the body of Moses, and by his good guardianship, to have saved the Israelites from the sin of hero worship. He also guards the body of Eve. He is believed to have been the angel who kept the Garden of Eden after the expulsion of our first parents; the angel through whom God published the decalogue given to his chosen people; the angel which stood in the way against Balaam; and the angel who routed the army of Sennacherib. Christian tradition gives him four offices: (1) To fight against Satan. (2) To rescue the souls of the faithful from the power of the devil. (3) To be the champion of God's people. (4) To call away from earth and bring men's souls to Judgment. To this was added, in later years, the care of the sick. In art, he is usually represented as an angelic warrior, fully armed with helmet, sword, and shield, standing on the dragon, whom he sometimes pierces with a lance. Those who saw Marie Odile will remember the big painting of St. Michael with the flaming, uplifted sword, which hung in the big convent hall, and the fancies of the innocent young girl concerning it.

So Virginia begins her piece of work with an inarticulate prayer to St. Joseph for a husband, and to St. Michael for his aid in her fight against the dragon, which we have already learned is "the old, old man in Virginia."

Number 2 is Little Nannie Red Nose, and Virginia applied to her the old Mother Goose riddle:

Little Nannie Red Nose,
The longer she stands,
The shorter she grows.

The bit of needlework attached to her face she says is a trumpet she is blowing; this would make this figure also:

Little Boy Blue,
Come blow your horn,
The cow's in the meadow,
The sheep in the corn.

Although she has made this a female figure, there is nothing incongruous to her in giving it another personality, which is male. Indeed, this she has done very often in all of her productions. Certain of the patients, with whom she is in contact, carry the added personality of men, and these are not especially the masculine type of women either. To this figure she has never given any character from real life, hence we must think it represents what might be called the Mother Goose phase of her own development.

Number 3, on the contrary, always has the name and attributes of people she has known. It is Lucy, Crazy Jane, and two big fat negroes, a woman and a man, who "never wore a stitch of clothes." These people were all vaguely described, and this figure probably represents a growth beyond the phase of Little Nannie Red Nose, where reality is beginning to be forced upon her attention, but where there is still considerable confusion. The negroes, who never wore clothing, would indicate that this figure holds the expression of her childish inquisitiveness and peeping tendencies. The right hand of this figure is seen to be held in a position covering the sexual organs, but Virginia naïvely said: "You know they are there just the same." Since this is the only figure in which there has been the slightest attempt to cover these organs, we must conclude that this is done for reasons other than modesty, or that it holds the expression of her childish habit of masturbation.

This is amplified in the two figures which are numbered 4. Virginia says these are the Children of the Abbey, by which she means a "whole race of little people," which she sometimes called the Jews. These two figures are as nearly alike as she could make them; they possess no individual characteristics, but are very good general

types. Now the "Children of the Abbey" is a novel of English life of perhaps a century ago, the children being an orphaned brother and sister of the well-to-do class, for whom the course of true love did not run smooth, but who finally married happily. Persistent questioning failed to reveal any knowledge of this book, except its title, which the patient has plagiarized, so to speak, and applied to her race of little people. We know that the mothering of multitudes of children, especially if they be little, is a masturbation fantasy among women. In this connection, the patient said that she had created all the people in the world, that the world was not finished yet, and she had to complete it. She is also an habitual masturbator.

Number 5 is the Virgin Mary. This is a slender girlish figure whose sexual organs are so small that they cannot be differentiated from the other stitches composing the body, although Virginia repeatedly pointed them out, and could not understand that no one else could see them. She said they had to be small because she was a virgin. The wonder of Mary, the mother of Jesus, had a great appeal for this patient. She often spoke of her purity. This is probably the expression of her early religious yearnings. Perhaps, also, she recognized in the very great difference in age between Mary and Joseph a similarity to the relations of herself and her father, Mary's attachment being legitimate, and her own taboo. She is peculiarly uninformed of religion, the church or the Bible, yet she quotes, albeit incorrectly, from the Scriptures, rather freely, sometimes with a startling meaning. For instance, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth" means to her, that the right hand is engaged in masturbation, and should keep the left in ignorance.

Number 6 is one of her early paramours, Mr. Gibson, and also, contains all of the others. Note the flaring head-dress she has given him, thus distinguishing him from all the others in this group. She has also made a very realistic snake, trailing across the lace work, and whispering to Mr. Gibson. Snake means to her man, the seducer, and the pleasure giver. The wide use and general applicability of the symbolism of the serpent has been well worked out by Dr. Hassall. I would interpret this group as being the awakening of her desire for the normal life of woman, pictured by one of her childhood lovers, Mr. Gibson.

Number 7 is The Woman Picking Up Apples. Later on, she referred continually to The Woman, This One Woman, The Only

Woman Who Ever Was, The First Woman, meaning herself. Therefore, we may have no hesitation in deciding that this woman is also herself. Apples have a constant strong sexual significance to her, meaning the testicles. The Woman Picking Up Apples, therefore, is herself, searching for her mate. You will notice that The Woman is carrying the apples in her lap.

Number 8 is a skeleton. This hung in the home of an uncle of hers, who was a doctor. Nothing more would she tell about it. But we know that *uncle* is virtually interchangeable with *father*, and *doctor*, especially a country doctor, is also a father substitute. So the skeleton from her uncle's home must be the skeleton of her attachment to her father, of which she is unable to rid herself, although she is trying to emancipate herself, and is seeking the opportunity to fulfil her biological destiny.

This quadrant portrays a resumé, so to speak, of her development through the fantasies of early childhood, her narcissistic period, and adolescent awakening, with the final unconscious dominance of the skeleton. In a way, it reminds us of the preliminary search of her dream, "I went by houses and houses, and I went up steps and I went down steps."

There is now a change in the size of her figures. There is also a definite pairing off. The next two which she made are Jack and Jill, marked J. These figures are still made of darning stitches entirely, although there is a shaping and rounding of the bodies, and definite features are given to the faces. They both have short tightly curled hair, and both have decorative garters tied below the knee. This method of decoration is seen among many primitive tribes. A garter presented by a ruling sovereign was a mark of distinction and royal favor, highly prized during the feudal ages. It is often reproduced by the insane, who show an archaic tendency. It had no other meaning than this to Virginia. Jill is also given a distinctive head-dress and a lace dress. The pail which they carried up the hill is swinging through a pulley (made from the rim of a button) above Jack's head. Jack and Jill have each a hand on the rope, and are in the act of lowering the pail for water. They are surrounded by a bower of roses, which Virginia says are running over the cottage where they live. Flowers, especially roses, mean home to her. The rose is recognized in poetry and art as the flower of love. Perched on one of these roses is what Virginia calls a bee, in the act of sucking honey. The fact that bees aid in the pollinization of flowers is unknown to our patient, yet they have

a strong sexual significance for her just the same, because of the fact that they sting. Jack is also Samson, "the greatest man who ever lived, except the Christ." Jill is also Queen Victoria, and we may add, the greatest woman who ever lived. Besides, *Jack* and *Jill* are really generic terms for *man* and *woman*. These two may be considered a fantasy, such as girls are prone to indulge in, of a cottage built for two, with Jack, an ideal, who is everything that is strong, manly and dependable, and Jill (herself), who is everything that is sweet, womanly and desirable, happily engaged together in homely household tasks, with the roses of pleasure and the bees of pain about them.

The next two figures, marked S, are made from pieces of muslin like a rag doll, and stuffed with scraps, the outside being covered with parallel darning stitches. These, Virginia calls Mr. and Mrs. Hub Smith. It will be noticed that they are grosser and more material than Jack and Jill, as if her fancies are losing their poetry and becoming more sordid. What looks like a bower of roses around them Virginia tells me is, in reality, a grape-vine, and that Mr. and Mrs. Hub Smith are standing together in a grape-vine swing. She even says that Mr. Hub Smith wrote a song called "Swinging in the Grape-Vine Swing." The grape-vine is a far coarser symbol of love than the roses, adding the element of licentiousness. It is the emblem of Bacchus, rather than of Venus. Mr. Hub Smith holds an umbrella over their heads as a sign that "they are together under God's creation," that is, fulfilling their biological destiny. The umbrella is surmounted by an unusually large and vigorous bee, and there is a smaller one upon the grape-vine. Mrs. Hub Smith is wearing a bracelet upon the left arm, made from the rim of a pearl button. A bracelet means the marital relation to Virginia, and Mrs. Hub Smith is wearing it as a sign that the bans have been published. Fan is also a symbol of the marital relation, and Mrs. Hub Smith is carrying it in that especial position to signify her passion. Another snake is wriggling across the lace work from underneath Jill's feet, and is whispering into the ear of Mr. Hub Smith. This would indicate a very close relationship between Mr. Hub Smith and Mr. Gibson, but while Mr. Gibson is evidently a youth, Mr. Hub Smith is a mature man, and judging from his very great intimacy with the grape-vine, must be her father, although this could not be substantiated by Virginia. She would only quote: "Oh, Death, where is thy sting, oh, grave, where is thy Victory," and where indeed is the victory of the grave to one who lives in a world

of dreams. In talking of Mrs. Hub Smith, she referred to her as the only woman who ever was in the world, a phrase which she most often applied to herself. In these two figures, then, we find a fairly definite picture of herself and her father, although they are pretty well overlaid with Mr. and Mrs. Hub Smith. Again, there is a marked parallel to her dream, "And I picked up the first bead, and it was all right; and I picked up the second bead, and it was all right."

The smaller half of this piece of lace contains three figures of heroic size, and a cross, and are very intimately connected. The figure beside the cross is The One Woman, The First Woman That Ever Was, The Only Woman, The Virgin, the Magdalene, which our patient indicated by giving her long flowing hair. She said that a virgin could easily be a Magdalene because of her thoughts. The One Woman has also been given rather lacy inefficient wings, because she is an angel. But the most frequent name applied to her is The Woman Who Has Suffered All There Is In The World To Suffer Because She Wanted The Christ for a Husband. The cross beside which she stands indicates this. For the sake of brevity, we will call her The Woman, but with the meaning of Virginia's complete sentence. In her left hand, The Woman carries a bunch of flowers; in her right is a bee; at her feet is a terrapin. By all of these means, Virginia tried to express the greatness of this woman's passion for the Christ. At the end of the string of beads is a pearl ring. Our patient says that pearls are tears. They were never intended for everybody, but were made by God Almighty in memory of the Christ to whom The Woman was so much devoted. There is also a pearl ring upon the cross, to signify the love The Woman bore the Christ. It is rather significant that this ring is broken. Probably this element of tears in the pearls is also present in Mrs. Hub Smith's bracelet, in the pulley through which the rope of Jack and Jill's pail plays, and in the button on Mr. Hall's Masonic head-dress. The breasts of The Woman are large and prominent. Her right breast is being sucked by a snake, which coils away from the cross. Virginia said that God Almighty would not let The Woman have the Christ for a husband, so she had to be a virgin, but she could still have the sensations of marrying Him in her breasts. And that was why she attached the serpent as she did. The cross is surmounted by the dove of peace, which has been out over the face of the waters and returned with an olive branch in his mouth. The dove represents innocence, and also, "people who

really know," like the Virgin Mary, who was essentially innocent, and yet, had become a mother. The dove of peace, settling upon the cross, foreshadows the development of the next figure. "After The Woman had suffered all she could possibly suffer as a punishment for having committed all the sin in the world, in that she wanted the Highest Man, or the Christ, for a husband, then there was a crowning, and they left her alone after that."

The next figure, then, is but another phase of The Woman. Virginia usually calls her the Other Woman, sometimes the Second Woman. She is older, less attractive, with shrunken trunk and hips, and she is clothed in a dress of lace. Her hair, no longer loose and flowing, to indicate that she is no longer the Virgin, or the Magdalene, is braided. The coronet with which the crowning was done is made from bits of twisted wire, and in her right hand, she is carrying a ball, another symbol of the male.

The man next to her Virginia dismissed rather briefly from the discussion, saying only that he was Mr. Hall, and that he was the one man, as she was the one woman. He is also a Mason, as indicated by his cap and long sweeping ostrich plume (made most cleverly from raveled strips of muslin). In his left hand Virginia has put a trumpet, another symbol of the phallus, yet symbols were not entirely adequate; and our patient did not neglect to make his sexual organs large and prominent, nor to so arrange his lace trousers that they were emphasized rather than concealed. Yet, you will notice that her knowledge of the anatomy of the parts is incorrect. Between the two figures is another terrapin. The One Woman and the One Man are locking arms, thus showing a greater intimacy than is enjoyed by the other figures. Virginia says the Other Woman has finally been allowed to marry this man, and as a sign of their union, she has placed a wedding ring on the finger of the woman. Yet, the significant thing is that the wedding ring has been placed on the third finger of the right hand instead of the left. Moreover, it is made from a bit of lavender thread. Virginia has a very definite symbolism of color, among which purple (lavender being a lighter purple) means virginity, and passion, two concepts which she always joins into one. She has also given the man a ring of lavender thread. Therefore, although the One Woman and the One Man are finally married, yet is the marriage not one of fact, for virginity rules.

Another way in which our patient referred to this last couple was, as The Helping Hand. The Helping Hand is a widely copied

and well-known picture of a hardy, kindly faced old sailor, rowing a boat across the tossing waves, with his tiny daughter sitting eager and important beside him, with her soft little hands upon the oar handle, helping father row. No better picture to express her own strong father attachment could our patient have found.

"And I picked up the third bead, and I began going down and going down and going down. And the water rushed up and covered me. And I called to a man who was going by and he did not pay any attention." The curse of the third bead then is the motive of this portion of the lace. After having suffered all she possibly could suffer, because of her desire for the Highest, she has given up, and has been going down and going down until she is living in comparative comfort with her incestuous fancies. She is still suffering untold torment. The sentence with which she opened the discussion of her life and fancies was: "I tell you no one but God Almighty knows the agony I suffer, both bodily pain and heartache." If her sufferings become too terrible, she still has the remedy of complete oblivion of the waters rushing up to cover her.

NEPHEW AND MATERNAL UNCLE: A MOTIVE OF EARLY LITERATURE IN THE LIGHT OF FREUDIAN PSYCHOLOGY

BY ALBERT K. WEINBERG

It is significant that the newer psychopathology does not limit itself to phenomena that are strictly pathological. The same unconscious trends which are shown in disordered mental states influence as well men's normal manifestations, and the difference between normality and abnormality lies in coördination of consciousness rather than in content. These considerations, it seems to me, open up new and really amazing vistas; the principles evolved by Freud in the study of the neuroses possess a range of applicability coextensive with the mental sciences. It is hoped that the present study may be of some value in illustrating this larger significance of the psycho-analytic formulations.

Rummaging in the archives of philology, one encounters a problem of unusual subjective interest. Due to the enigmatic character of the phenomenon with which it is concerned, this problem has under various titles been the subject of quite large discussion. Briefly stated it is as follows: In many parts of the early literature, there appears a tendency to emphasize and glorify the relation between the nephew and the uncle on the mother's side. The reference to this relation is of such frequency, and the bond between nephew and maternal uncle assumes at times such dramatic importance (even to the extent of monopolizing the interest), that there is presented a question which demands consideration. What is the basis of this phenomenon which at first glance affords certainly no clue to its import?

Nowhere are the affectionate and intimate relations between nephew and maternal uncle more conspicuous than in the Old French *Chansons de Geste*. The persistence and striking character of the motive in that cycle has induced one scholar to devote to the subject an exhaustive treatise. To quote Dr. Farnsworth: "Even the more or less casual reader of the Old French epic poems cannot have failed to be impressed by the constant, pervading, and almost obtrusive glorification of the relations between uncle and nephew."

In almost every instance, it is disclosed, the uncle is the maternal uncle; the nephew, in other words, is the son of his uncle's sister. We are told moreover that it is in the relations between these two, who are united by an intense affection, that the human or dramatic interest of the epic is to be found. Thus, though the ostensible purpose of the *Chanson de Roland* is to depict the battle of Roncevaux and its national consequences, the center of its human interest lies in the affection between Roland and his maternal uncle, Charlemagne. The same thing holds good of the other poems, all obtaining their dramatic appeal through focalization of the nephew-maternal uncle intimacy. In a résumé of the most important heroes in the *Chansons de Geste* who are brought into accentuated relations with their maternal uncles, Dr. Farnsworth gives the names of Roland, Baudoin, Anseïs, Gui, the four nephews of Charlemagne; and Ogier, Vivien, Raoul de Cambrai, Foucon, Gascelin and Airol. But there are many more of less prominence, and the motive is one which is pervading.

Describing in detail the form which the intimacy of the two assumes, Dr. Farnsworth writes: "The solidarity between uncle and nephew is consistent and marked; not only is the nephew singled out for superlative favor and given works of the greatest consequence to do by his uncle, but the latter always acts as the guide and adviser of the young chevalier. The anxiety of the uncle when his nephew is in danger and his rejoicing at his success in battle give rise to some of the most dramatic passages of the French epic. . . . It is upon the nephew that the uncle depends for aid when in danger and for revenge when worsted, and the nephew looks to the uncle for the same ministrations." In reference to the mutual dependence of the two in battle we are told: "During their association in war the mutual dependence of uncle and nephew is evident throughout; where one is, the other is to be found, and each looks after the welfare of the other. This attitude of mutual helpfulness is recognized by the other characters, and the poet himself sometimes ventures the statement that it is a natural thing."

A document from the Old French literature that also bears interestingly upon our subject is one of the preserved poems of the troubadour Arnaut Daniel. This poem, translated in Justin H. Smith's "Troubadours at Home," exalts the bond between nephew and uncle in glowing terms. "There's none less dear than nephew and than uncle"—is a line that is characteristic, and also "Since Aaron's rod grew like a withe and from Lord Adam nephew sprang and uncle."

When the poet wishes to express his love for his mistress he says, "Not e'en the sister of my uncle is dearer, nor so dear upon my soul" or similarly "I love her more than cousin, brother, uncle"—reaching his climax with the comparison to affection for uncle. One assumes that the "sister of my uncle" in the preceding lines is a reference to the mother, and that we thus again have the specific glorification of the maternal uncle.

In the category of sister's sons, of heroes who are brought into prominent relation with a maternal uncle, we find some of the most well-known figures of folk-lore. As examples one may cite Beowulf, Perceval le Gallois, Gawain, Cuchulain, Bertrand, Bernaldo del Carpio. Searching in the old Germanic literature one will also meet many examples of such heroes. Dargun has called attention to the distinguishing marks of these relationships in Germanic hero-lore, which present a striking similarity to those of the *Chansons de Geste*: Nephew and uncle avenge each other; the uncle is the representative of his nephew; the uncle attends to his nephew's marriage; the nephew is often given the uncle's name; the nephew is placed in his uncle's tutelage; the nephew inherits his uncle's charge; a man is known as his uncle's nephew rather than as his father's son. Also mythology is not lacking in this motive. Bachofen's "Antiquarische Briefe" considers comprehensively the instances of close relations between nephew and maternal uncle in Hindu, Greek and Latin mythologies. The story of Astika in the *Mahabharata*, for example, introduces the maternal uncle as guardian and educator of the child.

This extremely brief and sketchy presentation of the material involved will nevertheless give some idea of the problem's scope. While it would be possible to go into greater detail in the characterization of the motive, yet I believe its nature is sufficiently clear. To the maternal uncle there is attributed all that tender solicitude, benevolent interest, which at least in ethical abstraction one would posit for the father. With the greatest anxiety he watches over his nephew's career, always rendering him aid in times of stress, and in the event of the latter's death considering his most sacred obligation the punishment of the murderers. On the other hand, the nephew meets the affection of the maternal uncle with feelings no less amiable. His constant endeavor is to be of service to his relative and to gain his approval, like Roland often acting as his faithful general or deputy. There are instances where he will snatch his uncle from the very grip of death, as did Galien in the battle with

the Saracens. Such are points typical in the widespread glorification of this relationship.

It is obvious that for these phenomena there is demanded some causative basis. Their striking nature as well as persistence preclude the possibility of fortuitousness or lack of significance. Notably by Farnsworth¹ and Nitze,² the closeness of nephew and maternal uncle in early literature has been interpreted literally as positing a social order in which these two were actually brought into the closest of relations. It is of course admitted of the literature that it was produced at a time when the family was demonstrably upon a modern basis. But in the predominance of this nephew-maternal-uncle motive has been seen evidence of a prehistoric matriarchy, which would be characterized by the position of the mother's brother as head of the family, and which, we are told, would maintain its impress on popular sentiment long after being actually superseded. The chief difficulty in this explanation would be in its assumption of a social order the probability of which, at least for the Indo-Europeans, is severely questioned if not refuted. There is, it is true, a school which accepts the conclusions of Bachofen's "Das Mutterrecht," but the weight of sociologic opinion and of philological testimony seems to rest on the side of the patriarchal rather than the matriarchal hypothesis.³

¹ Farnsworth, W. O.: *Uncle and Nephew in the Old French Chansons de Geste: A Study in the Survival of Matriarchy*. Columbia University Press, 1913.

² Nitze, W. A.: *The Sister's Son and the Conte del Graal*, *Modern Philology*, January, 1912, Vol. IX, No. 3.

³ In Sir Henry Maine's "Ancient Law" we are told that the "effect of the evidence derived from comparative jurisprudence is to establish that view of the primeval condition of the human race which is known as the Patriarchal Theory" (p. 118). A similar stand is taken by Westermarck in "The History of Human Marriage." Westermarck considers the hypothesis that the maternal uncle was the head of the family and denies its feasibility. Zimmer, in his "Altindisches Leben," describes the original Indo-European family with the father at the head. For the purpose of briefly summarizing authoritative opinion upon this question, particularly in its relation to the Indo-Europeans, I may perhaps do best in quoting a passage from George E. Howard's "The Patriarchal Theory." ("A History of Matrimonial Institutions," Vol. 1, p. 9, The University of Chicago Press, 1904.) "For the Indo-Germanic or Aryan peoples the investigations of Zimmer, Schrader, Delbrück, Kohler, and especially the researches of Leist, enable us to speak with a higher degree of confidence, though only for the period covered by positive linguistic and legal evidence. Bachofen, McLennan, and after them many other writers, . . . have maintained that among all branches of the Aryan

The solution, I believe, that would first suggest itself to the psychoanalytic viewpoint, would hinge on the fact that the uncle is the *maternal* uncle. That is to say, it might be thought that this phenomenon is in some way related to the nuclear mother-complex so dynamic in life. It is true that of the two uncles the mother's brother will be preferred, by mere reason of the fact that he is on the mother's side. We remember that in "Jean Christophe" the lovable old Gottfried, whose friendship with Christophe was one of the most vivid episodes of the hero's childhood, was a maternal

stock conclusive proofs exist of a former matriarchate, or at any rate, of exclusive succession in the female line. But this view is decidedly rejected, if not entirely overthrown, by the philologists, and depends for its support on the presence in later institutions of alleged survivals. The judgment of Delbrück must probably be accepted as decisive for the present state of linguistic, if not of all scientific, inquiry. He declares that 'no sure traces of a former maternal family among the Indo-Germanic peoples have been produced.' Similar conclusions are reached by Schrader, Max Müller, and Leist. Also, among the institutional writers, Wake declares that 'primitively, among the peoples belonging to the wide-spread Aryan or Indo-European stock, while relationship was acknowledged through both parents, descent was traced preferably in the male line'; and Bernhöft, constrained through the evidence presented by Schrader and Delbrück, believes that it is now placed 'beyond question that the primitive Aryans did not live according to mother-right,' but were united in family groups resembling the south Slavonian house communities."

Even if one were to grant the fact of matriarchy, there would be several difficulties in resting this phenomenon of literature upon such a causative basis. These difficulties are frankly recognized by those who nevertheless believe in that basis. The literature in which the motive occurs is the product of a patriarchal state of society, so that the most that could be posited would be the preservation in popular sentiment of the matriarchal relation long after it had ceased to possess significance. As Professor Comfort writes (Comfort, W. W.: *A Lapsed Relationship*, Dublin Review, Oct., 1916): "The literary evidence does not of course date from a state of matriarchy. All human literature is the product of the present patriarchal state. The father is the head of the family in mediaeval as in modern literature." In the case of the *Chansons de Geste*, compositions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the chronological disparity between the poems and the actual matriarchy is quite tremendous. Dr. Farnsworth speaks of the influence that the Roman occupation of Gaul, completed by 50 B.C., would have exercised destructively upon any dissimilar social order. The Salian and Ripuarian laws, we are also told, prove in the sixth century the complete fusion of maternal and paternal relatives. Professor Comfort, it is true, discloses that the legal institutions of the Picts and Celts show marked favor to the sister's son down to a comparatively late time. But he nevertheless writes: "The general lack of formal legislation in favor of the sister's son is remarkable in view of the constant popular sentiment which, we shall presently see, existed in his favor."

uncle. Some strange prejudice which goes back to unconscious determinism would make it impossible to picture Gottfried as the father's brother. Yet we cannot accept the fixation upon the mother as an adequate explanation of this phenomenon, unquestioned as is the subordinate rôle it plays in its motivation. It is incomprehensible why the mother-libido should persistently adopt this peculiar means of egress. This solution, specious though it first appear, hardly withstands serious reflection, and I think we must go farther in our search.

Another standpoint might conceive as significant the fact that the nephew is a sister's son. There are several considerations which would tend to encourage such an approach. We know that the love for a sister, who best revives the mother-image, embraces a complex of no little moment and that it is a common thing for a man to call his sweetheart "sister." To the affection of brother for sister folklore gives us many testimonies. An old German proverb runs to the effect that to take vengeance for a sister is better than thirst for gold. In the early English ballads is found the following passage:

"There is no man would touch my one little sister
That I would not make powder of his bones."⁴

The *Germania* of Tacitus affords the following interesting passage in connection with a description of one of the Germanic tribes: "Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum, qui apud patrem, honor. Quidam sanctiorem arctioremque hunc necum sanguinis arbitrantur, et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt, tanquam ii et animum firmitus et domum latius teneant. Heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi; et nullum testamentum."⁵ Since specific reference is here made to an objective love of the uncle for his sister's son, there is provided additional evidence for the hypothesis that the sister complex is an important factor in the production of this motive.

When we turn to the *Chansons de Geste*, where the relations between uncle and nephew have been studied in detail, we find indeed that no little emphasis is laid on the fact that the nephew is the son

⁴ Douglas Hyde: Love Songs of Connacht.

⁵ Children are regarded with equal affection by their maternal uncles as by their fathers; some even consider this as the more sacred bond of consanguinity, and prefer it in the requisition of hostages, as if it held the mind by a firmer tie and the family by a more extensive obligation. A person's own children, however, are his heirs and successors and no wills are made. (*Germania*, Cap. 20. The Oxford Translation.)

of his uncle's sister. Psychoanalysis, concerned with unconscious mentation, would suggest that this tendency to direct affection towards the sister's son is due to a repressed incestuous desire upon the sister. He who assumes the position of father to his sister's offspring unconsciously does so because he is thus accomplishing the desired union with the sister. It is very interesting therefore when we find in confirmation of this explanation a curious legend that has arisen in connection with Charlemagne's love for his sister's son, Roland. Dr. Farnsworth tells us this scandalous story, which grew up after Charlemagne's death, that the Emperor had incestuous intercourse with his sister Gelle, and that Roland was thus really his own son. The interest of the legend lies of course only in its showing how such thoughts, repugnant to the ethical personality, received elaboration in the more gross and unrestrained phantasy of the folk-mind, and are thus integral to consciousness. Again in the *Beowulf*, we learn from Dr. Hart's "Ballad and Epic," Fitela is Sigemund's son by his sister, Signy.

While it is undoubtedly true that an important factor in the glorification of the nephew-maternal uncle intimacy is the sister-complex, I do not believe that we have yet arrived at the primary motivation. For such a conviction there are other than purely subjective grounds. In tracing this motive to a sister-complex, we should be laying all the emphasis upon the psychological tendencies of the uncle and assuming that the affection of the nephew had no objective significance. Although such a stand would be perfectly legitimate, it cannot be overlooked that usually the nephew is the important character, the uncle being prominent only because of his intimate relations with the latter. The nephew is most often the hero, as in the *Beowulf*, the *Perceval*, the Cuchulain Saga, the Astika story of the *Mahabharata*, and it is therefore fitting that in a psychological consideration we should assume that the underlying complex concerns itself with the outlook of the nephew.

It is, I believe, a familiar experience to the psychoanalyst, when grappling with some elusive neurotic symptom, suddenly to find the clue to the primary enigma in the less disguised character of some simultaneous secondary manifestation. Looking at this glorification of the bond between nephew and maternal uncle as a symptom in the larger sense, do we find no accompanying motive, no parallel anomaly that would throw light on the original problem of our investigation?

When we turn to our most elucidating source, the *Chansons de*

Geste, with the intention of examining more closely the context of the motive, our attention is arrested by one peculiarity. Side by side with the unusual relation between nephew and maternal uncle one finds an equally amazing relation between son and father. It is as if there were but one intrinsic motive, such is the proximity of the two anomalies. *As striking as the benevolence and kindness ascribed to the maternal uncle is the harshness attributed to the father.* The contrast moreover is still further enhanced by a certain tendency to portray the two figures side by side, as if to make each bring the other into stronger relief.

Dr. Farnsworth, to whose dissertation I am indebted for my information upon the *Chansons de Geste*, writes in his chapter "The Attitude of the Father:" "As will be seen, the tendency is to minimize the intimacy between father and son while exalting that between uncle and nephew; in the latter case the closest solitariness is the almost invariable rule, while for the most part the attitude of the father, when the poet goes into the subject at all, is one of severity and injustice, breeding dissension and disruption of the family relations." We learn not only that the poet is often reluctant on the subject of the hero's father, but that in one instance he has even gone so far as to omit his name. Such is the case in the *Chanson de Roland*, which does not once mention Roland's father, while everything is made of his relation to Charlemagne.

The father is continually represented as enforcing his parental authority by means of blows. Often he will fly into a rage with the son on the slightest provocation and will heap upon him imprecations. The maternal uncle however will sometimes be portrayed as here interceding in his nephew's behalf and offsetting the anger of the father. In the *Enfances Vivien*, when the young Bertrand burns to enter battle, his father, Bernart, strikes him and says roughly: "*Tais toi, lichieres orguillox, fui desi.*"⁶ The maternal uncle Guillaume, however, laughs good-naturedly and reminds him kindly that he is not old enough to fight.

In *Doon de Mayence*, when Doon is about to leave his father to obtain training at the hands of his uncle, the father on no provocation strikes him a furious blow. In particular is this unkindness here without justification since Doon had tenderly been caring for his blind father eight years:

⁶ Keep silence, proud rake, make haste from here. (In all the citations from the *Chansons de Geste*, I have utilized the translations of Dr. Farnsworth in his "Uncle and Nephew in the *Chansons de Geste*.")

Lors le fiert de la paulme sur le viz, qu'il ot gras;
 Puis luy a dit; "Beaul fiz, bellement et par gas
 Pour ce t'ay je feru que ja ne l'oubliras."
 (*Doon de Mayence*, 2478)⁷

Aiol gives an example of uncalled for brutality on the part of the father. When Elie's son, who has been his benefactor in a thousand ways, commits no greater offense than playfully pretending his father's favorite horse is dead, Elie for this harmless jest falls upon him furiously with a stick, reviling him: *Faus lechieres, fol glous demeurez*.⁸ Again in the *Siege de Barbastre*, the father Bovon berates his son Gerart without justification, and when the latter seeks to defend himself, is only prevented from beating him by others present.

The father is sometimes depicted as wilfully disinheriting his son, as in the unedited *Guibert d'Andrenas*. Aymeri decides to bequeath his property to a godson instead of to the natural heir, Guibert. The son rebels in the following speech:

"Non ferez pere; par Dieu lo fil Marie!
 Deseriter me volez par folie,
 S'estranges hon a ma terre sesie."⁹

Aymeri, the father, then falls into a passion at this bold speech and berates his son: *Glos, lechiere, fil a garcon, mauvais couart provez*.¹⁰

Be it remembered that opposed to all this unkindness on the part of the father is the benevolence and affection of the maternal uncle. Sometimes the contrast is quite direct, as in the *Enfances Vivien* when the life of Vivien is at stake: the father of Vivien assumes an attitude of complete indifference, while the maternal uncle goes to Louis to implore his aid in his nephew's rescue. *Aye d'Avignon* gives us an instance of two nephews actually betraying their father in order that they may render aid to their maternal uncle, Garnier, and then fighting in conjunction with the uncle against the father.

The cruelty with which the father is invested in the *Chansons de Geste* is best illustrated by the amazing phenomenon of fathers giving over their sons as hostages to certain death. In the *Chanson de*

⁷ Then he strikes him with his palm upon his face, which was plump. Then he said to him: "Fair son, gently and in jest did I strike you, so that you will not forget it."

⁸ False rake, foolish, arrogant glutton.

⁹ You shall not do it, father! By God the son of Mary! You wish to disinherit me through madness, if a stranger is possessed of my inheritance.

¹⁰ Rake, dog, low-born son, vile proven coward.

Roland, the pagan king Marsile, to induce the victorious Charlemagne to leave Spain, offers to send him twenty or thirty of their sons, among them his own, as hostages, and promises to follow him to France later and become converted. But he by no means intends to keep his covenant and looks forward quite calmly to the death of the hostages and his son. When he announces the ruse to his fellow-countrymen, they give their assent and seem to regard it a quite natural thing:

"S'en vult ostages, e vus l'en enveiez
O dis o vint pur lui afancier.
Enveiums i les filz de noz nuilliers;
Par num d'ocire enveierai le mien.
Assez est mielz qu'il i perdent les chiefs,
Que nus perdium l'honor ne la deintet,
Ne nus seium conduit a mendeier."
Païen respundent; "Bien fait a otreier". . . .

"Viendrat li jurz, si passerat li termes,
N'orrat de nus paroles ne nuvels.
Li Reis est fiers, e sis curages pesmes;
De noz ostages ferat trenchier les testes;
Assez est mielz que la vie il i perdent
Que nus perdium clere Espaigne la bele
Ne nus aium les mals ne les sufferaits."
Dient païen; "Issi poet il bien estre."¹¹
(*Roland*, 40 ff.)

The tendency to depict the father as cruel or treat him as non-existent, which displays itself so obtrusively in the *Chansons de Geste* alongside of the exaltation of the maternal uncle, is recognized in the nomenclature of Freud's dynamic psychology under the heading of father-complex, to use the broader category, Œdipus-complex. The resentment of the father's domineeringness, the unconscious desire to rebel against his authority, are apparent not merely in the dissected dreams of neurotics. Mythology, in which Abraham

¹¹ "If he wishes hostages do you send him some. Ten or twenty, to give him confidence. Let us send him sons of our wives; even were he to be put to death, I will send him mine. Much better is it for them to lose their heads than for us to lose our lands and our estates, and be reduced to begging." The pagans reply: "It is well to grant this." . . . "The day will come, the limit will pass, he will not hear word or news of us; the king is haughty, and his heart is implacable; he will have the heads of our hostages cut off; better is it that they shall lose their lives, than that we shall lose bright Sjaïn, the beautiful, and have woe and suffering." The pagans say: "This can well be so."

sees the repressed life of the infantile psyche of the race, offers likewise suggestions of such a trend. We recall the revolt of the Titans against their father Uranus, and the castration of the latter by his son Cronus. Cronus, according to one version, suffered in turn the same treatment at the hands of his son, Zeus. There is also the myth of Prometheus and his rebellion, related to those preceding by the fact that Zeus is father of gods and men.¹² Psychoanalysis, attempting to explain this father-hatred in the more biologic terms of life's sexual substratum, traces it to jealousy born of the early attachment of the child to the mother. It is not inconceivable that from the one thwarting rôle the father might then come to personify life's entire rebuff to the *Lust-prinzip*.

It would indeed suggest itself that the exaltation of the maternal uncle and his relation with the child might be ultimately related to some such father-complex.¹³ This certainly is the impression that one gains from the *Chansons de Geste*. Vaguely sensing mechanisms which we shall try later to grasp more completely, we can understand how the hatred of the father, strongly repressed because unacceptable to the complete personality, might adopt as its vicarious expression the accentuation of this rival relation with the kind, responsive maternal uncle. But it will not do, with such a large field at hand, to base our hypothesis on a consideration of the *Chansons de Geste* alone. Let us turn to other literature wherein this motive figures and see if here there are not offered the same indications of father-complex that are so obtrusive in the *Chansons de Geste*.

We discover that it is with other popular heroes as with Roland: all mention of the father is omitted in the midst of the most extravagant description of the hero's friendly relations with a maternal uncle. In the *Beowulf* much is made of his relation to the maternal uncle, Hygelac, while almost nothing comes out in regard to Beowulf's father. Of Perceval the same thing is true. He is introduced as a sister's son and Professor Nitze says in regard to the maternal uncle that "a closer male relative Perceval could not have

¹² The work of Richard Payne Knight and others shows, it is true, that these myths were intended to be symbolic. Nevertheless it is of significance that one particular form was chosen rather than any other, and the myths will still possess psychological implications.

¹³ The repressed feelings that are connoted by "father-complex" have of course no relation whatever with age. They by no means disappear as soon as the father loses his original significance, as soon as the child leaves the family circle.

had." Cuchulain, similarly, is presented as the sister's son of Conchobar; the latter acts to him as foster-father and not the slightest mention is made of the actual parent. Professor Comfort tells us that Gawain in *Perceval le Gallois* always refers to himself as *le nies roi artu*. It is the same with Gawain's son. Gawain and his son fight unrecognized, and later, when their identity is disclosed, the boy tells his father he has always been known as his uncle's nephew. Is it possible that this fight between father and son possesses psychological significance? We shall return to the point later on. Professor Gummere, in an interesting paper,¹⁴ writes of the relations of nephew and maternal uncle in the English and Scottish popular ballads. Many of the popular heroes have a maternal uncle who stands to them as foster-father, and the paternal relations are very colorless.

Professor Potter has written a book¹⁵ in study of the epic of Sohrab and Rustem, familiar through the poem of Mathew Arnold's. The theme of Sohrab and Rustem is, as is well known, that of a combat between father and son. The particular interest that Professor Potter's book possesses for us here is in this: it points out that the theme of a combat between father and son frequently goes hand in hand with the most intimate relations between nephew and maternal uncle. The father deserts the mother or has had only temporary relations with her, and the son is then brought up by the maternal uncle, a bond of affection arising between the two. Later when the child sets out in life he meets the father and the two fight unrecognized. This is the motive that we saw in *Perceval le Gallois*, in the combat of Gawain and his son. It is difficult not to see these battles of father and son as related to the father-complex. True, the two fight in ignorance of their identity and afterwards there is usually the reconciliation, but recent trends in psychology have emphasized the importance of looking further than manifest content with its inevitable disguises.

Bachofen's "Antiquarische Briefe," chapters of which treat the manifestations of this motive in mythology, is unfortunately inaccessible at the present time. We learn from Dr. Farnsworth how-

¹⁴ Gummere, Frances B.: The Sister's Son in the English and Scottish Popular Ballads. In: An English Miscellany, presented to Dr. Furnivall in Honor of his Seventy-fifth Birthday, pp. 133-149. Oxford, 1901.

¹⁵ Potter, Murray Anthony, Sohrab and Rustem: The Epic Theme of a Combat between Father and Son. A Study of its Genesis and Use in Literature and Popular Tradition. London, David Nutt, 1902.

ever that the uncle takes the place of the father and that there is a triangular family consisting of mother, son, and mother's brother. The father is thus here entirely done away with.

Reverting for a moment to historical material we alight upon interesting data. Dr. Farnsworth mentions that the history of the Merovingian kings, as related by Gregory of Tours, affords many instances of close relations between nephew and uncle in connection with discord and ill-treatment on the part of the father. There is, for example, the story of Chramne, son of Clotaire, who unites with his uncle Childebert in conspiracy against his father. Childebert happens to be a paternal uncle but the psychic mechanism illustrated retains its implications.

In the Italian *Nerbonesi* the intense devotion of Bertrand to his maternal uncle Guillaume runs through the entire story. There is one episode which is significant. Guillaume, together with Bertrand, is besieged in the city of Orange, and is reduced to desperate circumstances. Bertrand manages to escape from the city and goes in search of aid for his uncle. When he applies to his father he is refused, and Bertrand then rebukes the latter in this furious tirade:

"O ingrato, e dimentico, non mi chiamare figliuolo, ch'io non t'appello mai più per padre, chè doveresti essere da tutti i cristiani perseverato insino alla morte, e per tutto il mondo cacciato! Io non sono sì fanciullo, come io era quando mi desti la guanciata a Parigi, che se non fussi la vergogna, e 'l peccato, io ti farei provare se la mia ispada taglia. O ingrato, non ti raccorda quando fusti cacciato di Busbante d'Arrighetto, e Guglielmo ti riscosse, e dietti la signoria? Pure quale signoria acquistati tu mai? Or non ti fece Guglielmo signore? Sappi ch'egli è molto da più di te Ghibellino, il quale si proferse sè medesimo in avere, e in persona aiutare la colonna del sangue nerbonese; la quale colonna, s'ella perirà, che vale il nostro nome de' Nerbonesi? Morto Guglielmo, tutti morti siamo. Ora ti rimani, ch'io ti giuro per la fè, la quale io giurai a Guglielmo, e a dama Tiborga, e per la fè, ch'io giurai a re Aluigi, che se Guglielmo iscampa di tanta fortuna, e tu non sia nelle battaglie in suo aiuto, che noi non ti lascieremo tanto di terra che tu possi avere sepoltura.¹⁶

These data, which show the accentuation of the nephew-uncle attachment to be accompanied by a depreciation of the bond between son and father, would seem to me to be significant. On their basis we should view this phenomenon as the manifestation of unconscious trend and venture to interpret it from the standpoint of a dynamic psychology. At the same moment we are arrived at our solution. Since one side of the equation established by the paral-

¹⁶ *Nerbonesi*, I, pp. 452-3.

lelism of these two motives is known, determinable as to its value, our quandary with regard to the other is overcome. The exaltation throughout the range of early literature of the relation between nephew and maternal uncle would appear the manifestation of a universal unconscious father-complex.

That which the motive envisages is an unconscious repugnance to the relation with the father. Of this repugnance it is the hysteric, vicarious expression. The dislike of the father-figure, not daring to manifest itself unequivocally, adopts as its outlet the stressing of this rival relationship, and the father, either disparagingly removed from the scenes or represented as brutal and unparental, is superseded by the maternal uncle. The exaltation that the latter then receives must be understood as equivalent psychologically to the defamation of the father. We may posit for the kindness and affection attributed to the maternal uncle a twofold significance. On the one hand it would by implication contrast with the severity of the father, a severity which may or may not be objective but which in either event has its reality in the subjective apperception of the son. On the other hand—but perhaps these two functions are really very related—it would establish an *ideal* father, a conception which has its prerequisite in the deficiency of the actual parent.

The mechanism by which an ethically unacceptable hatred for a certain figure is given vicarious expression in the accentuation of his rival, is one of universal character. It is essentially the same mechanism to which Rank makes reference in his "Myth of the Birth of the Hero." Rank speaks of that strange tendency, so universal as to be almost axiomatic, to represent the hero or demi-god as being brought up at the hands of foster-parents, usually after exposure on the part of the actual. These foster-parents are invariably portrayed as kind and appreciative, humble though in circumstance they often are. The psychological basis of this foster-parent motive Rank has shown to lie in the narcissistic dissatisfaction of the child with the actual parent. This infantile dissatisfaction achieves expression in the conceiving of foster-parents, on whose benevolence and graciousness all emphasis is laid. Also children, when scolded by one of the parents, will suddenly manifest a quite exaggerated love for the parent with whom they are not in disfavor, or for some other member of the family. It is as if by this means they were securing vengeance on the one who had delivered the reprimand. A mother, to manifest her displeasure with the one of her two children who has given offense, will exhibit (in the presence of the one in

disfavor) an unwonted affection for the other. Aggression is only one aspect of revolt; there is always the setting up of the golden calf which acts as a sort of consummation to the rebellion itself. In a case where the active, primary part of the iconoclastic act is balked, as in the revolt against the father-domination by ethical consideration, emphasis will tend to be shifted to the secondary, more passive phase. Thus there is the stressing of the bond between nephew and maternal uncle.

The question as to why just the mother's brother is selected for this rôle of rival father is not a difficult one. We may exclude at the outset the possibility of the paternal uncle serving the purpose equally well. The father's brother, because of the natural tendency to identify him with the father, will be rather disliked. In the Latin the word for maternal uncle is "*avunculus*," a diminutive of affection that also carries with it a comparison to the fond grandfather, "*avus*"; the connotation of the word for paternal uncle however presents a most striking contrast. "*Patruus*," the classical lexicographer tells us, evolved into a term of opprobrium, a synonym for the male termagant. Thus in the odes of Horace (III, 12) there is the phrase "*patruæ verbera linguæ*," in the satires (II, 3) "*ne sis patruus mihi*." It is also significant that in the familiar motive of literature, the cruel uncle who persecutes the young hero is invariably a paternal uncle.¹⁷

The particular suitability of the maternal uncle for the rôle of rival father embraces several considerations. In the first place he is the *maternal* uncle, and in his exaltation, as we have already seen, a portion of the mother-libido will achieve expression. Then again there enters here the fact that the nephew will stand to him as sister's son. The glorification of this relationship becomes thus a conden-

¹⁷ In "*Nicholas Nickleby*" the sinister Mr. Ralph Nickleby is a paternal uncle. The paternal uncle in Stevenson's "*Kidnapped*" first tries to take his young nephew's life and is then the cause of his cruel abduction. In Turgenyev's "*Fathers and Children*" the paternal uncle, while not unkind, symbolizes together with the father the old order which is repellent to the rebellious spirit of youth. "*Richard Carvel*," by Winston Churchill, gives another example of a cruel father's brother, through whose instrumentality the young hero, as in Stevenson's novel, is kidnapped. In two other recent novels, "*Oliver Horn*" and "*Peter*" by F. Hopkinson Smith, the motive also figures prominently. Grimme's legend of the two brothers (No. 60) contains the cruel paternal uncle who induces the father to expose the children. Claudius, we know, is Hamlet's paternal uncle, and both "*King John*" and "*Richard III*," while adaptations of historical phenomena, owe their dramatic poignancy to the utilization of this theme.

sation proceeding from both the father-complex and the sister-complex, though the latter is decidedly subordinate. If the nephew is a sister's son there is also provided a basis upon which to *rationalize* the entire phenomenon. Since there is apparent nothing reprehensible in the affection of a man for his sister's son, all emphasis will be laid upon that phase of the relationship, and it will not be obvious that the fond maternal uncle is the product of an incompatible unconscious trend. The formula "Thou art my sister's son" is nothing but a mode of concealment.

Finally there is an aspect of the question which I indicate with some hesitation, uncertain of the hypothesis involved. In "Die Ursprung der Melusinensaga" Kohler interestingly remarks that hostility between a man and his sister's husband is a phenomenon by no means uncommon. The basis of this hostility we know to be unconscious jealousy. But one immediately sees how this fact of hostility between the maternal uncle and the father might bear a relation to our problem. If we were to assume that the folk mind recognizes the animosity between these two, there would be additional appropriateness in causing just the maternal uncle to supersede the father. Uncle and nephew moreover would be united in disliking the same figure.

The full significance of this motive is only grasped when it is recalled that the possessors of these fond maternal uncles who serve in lieu of fathers are heroes. I wonder if one would go much astray in attempting to deduce an inherent connection here where there appears only coincidence. The hero is the personification of man's own libido; into his conception there enter our deepest values, conscious and unconscious. Is it not possible that the complete perfection on which depend the hero's potency and his approximation to phantasy's ideal would be somewhat tarnished were we to fetter him with a father? That in his freedom from the disgrace of subjection he must also never have experienced that subjection to the father which is probably the prototype of all bondage?¹⁸ Such indeed would seem to be an implication of this motive, which if it does not always remove the father completely, reduces at least the relation with him to the greatest insignificance.

But perhaps we have not even yet seen all. What if we should attempt to state heroism in the ultimate terms of the unconscious, to reduce it to its equivalent in the mass of psychogenetic material?

¹⁸ In the relation of the son with the mother, the factor of affection is present to such an extent as to efface all suggestion of domination.

(This process is one no longer considered impossible; in all its eventual complexity of content consciousness is yet believed to cluster about the primal infantile associations.) Should we not encounter, if not as the only motivating factor at least as one of great importance, the early relation of the child with the father and the emotions to which it gave rise. The hero is he who is completely free, he who in the assertion of his ego has overcome all resistance, broken from all bondage. But the psychic prototype of all servitude, let us once more recall, is the child's subjection to the father. So that heroism would in a sense appear the *revolt against the father domination*.

Returning then to our motive we might venture to translate "These are heroes *and* nephews" into psychoanalytic language—"These are heroes *because* nephews." They have dared to replace the wonted relation of son and father with that of nephew and maternal uncle.

TRANSLATION
A STUDY OF THE MENTAL LIFE OF THE CHILD

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VI. SPEECH (DIE SPRACHE)

(Continued from page 322)

It is no exaggeration to say that the child's life is made up of love and play. Only what brings him love, only what can be made use of in play, has significance and value for him. His speech, too, is developed from this double need of his nature. Even the first faltering sounds, as we have seen, are the expression of auto-erotism, as one of its infinite variations; and the speech of the maturing child, full of intelligence as it is, continues to bear witness to the presence of these components. In the angry shrieking of abusive words offended self-love rages like a fiery steed; while on the other hand, in the form of (bestowing) flattering caresses, the soul of the child shows its longing for tenderness. The constant asking of questions by children—in addition to the intellectual gain thus secured—aims at attracting the undivided attention of the people about them. Sully is mistaken in thinking that a morbid inquisitiveness accounts for this questioning habit;¹ a far more important cause is the wish for the exclusive devotion of a loved person. And the monologues of a child who is left to himself are dictated by love and by its

¹ As the cause of this questioning habit psycho-analysis has discovered the "Sphinxquestion,"—"Where do little children come from?"

psychological counterpart hate, that is, one might say, by the positive and by the negative influence of the mainspring (Triebfeder) of all human activity. To listen to conversations of that kind, which children carry on with themselves, is to arrive at a deep insight into the growth, into the evolution, of the childish mind (Seele). In such conversations the child's feeling accurately reveals (displays) itself because it clothes itself in the words which seem to him to be the most suitable, and the instinctive selection is made without regard to the censorship of adults. It is natural disposition and sex that are mainly concerned in giving to the speech of children its peculiar stamp, though the environment in which the child grows up also plays its part. This latter influence, however, is less important than is usually supposed. If this were not so, it would be impossible to explain how it happens that vulgar expressions are able to gain a secure footing in the vocabulary of even the most carefully guarded children. Such children are often the very ones to treasure each obscene word as a valuable acquisition, and to bring them out even when but half understood. Naturally, the words which give the greatest pleasure to the child in using them, are obscene designations for bodily needs (functionings) and for special parts of the body. Some time ago, when my nephew was five-and-a-half years old, in describing one of his dreams I reported² how, on the day before the dream, he ran around the room as if possessed and cried out,—“Auntie H—, I am going to sit down here and make you a ‘Patzen’ (soft lump)”—an expression which his mother had repeatedly forbidden him to use. And not long after that, when he had a bad stomach ache and relieved himself by vomiting, he could not tell of it often enough, laughing roguishly all the while. “Listen! I’ve been vomiting (ich hab’ g’spieb’n). Do you have to ‘speiben’ sometimes, too ” And when at last I answered a trifle angrily,—“Yes, if you must be so vulgar!”—he told the story over in the afternoon, when in an electric car, proclaiming in a loud voice,—“Auntie H—has to vomit if I am vulgar.” I remember from my own childhood, that I liked to use vulgar expressions, especially within hearing of my mother. This habit, often appearing in children, is to be regarded as a rule as a piece of mischievousness. But mischievousness of this sort is not without an admixture of malice; and on this account, perhaps, it should be classified as speech-sadism, in an undeveloped form (Wortsadismus). This passion for using obscene

² Hellmuth, Traum eines fünfeinhalbjährigen Knaben, Zentralbl. für Psychoanalyse, III, 3.

words often leads to the putting together of syllables, meaningless in themselves, which eventually take the form of some expression which the child has in mind. Not long ago, I heard a little girl about three years of age, singing twenty times or more, "Lo—lo—lo—polo—popo!"; and the following chain of syllables, "Wissi—wissi—wisschi—wi!", as used by a four-year-old boy, was not without indication of the same tendency. It is certain that the erotism of the palate- and lip-zone, which is so strongly marked, plays its part in maintaining the word-repetitions that often go on at such unwearied length. For a while, in his sixth year, my nephew said the self-invented word, "Bu-url-bbauer," again and again, until finally he sprang up, his whole body a-quiver, rubbed his lips and cried,— "Oh! I can't stand it, it tickles so." One can make observations of a similar nature quite generally, where children are concerned, in regard to the gutturals and the labials. To say "b—b—b" until physically exhausted is a form of play met with most frequently among very small children, but it is not confined to them; even grammar-school scholars and girls in their teens sometimes make themselves almost die of laughing through producing the same sound over and over, by playing on the lips with the fingers. These observations also point to word-sadism as well as to auto-sadism. The refrain, "La—la—la!", so often repeated in many songs—indeed, perhaps "the yodel" itself, with its stereotyped "Duliö—Duliö"—may have come originally from the experience of the pleasurable excitation of certain parts of the mouth and of the larynx—sensations which are reinforced by the satisfaction that always attends rhythmical repetitions.³ This statement is borne out by the experience, to which children frequently bear witness, that the sensations felt by them in the mouth and throat during singing are exceedingly agreeable. A nine-year-old boy described this pleasure to me—then a girl of seven—by comparing it to the pleasurable feelings excited by playing with himself "down there" (beim Spielen da unten). When correctly noted, such expressions made by children will be found to give indisputable proof of the soundness of the psycho-analytic teachings, which although based upon the histories of neurotic patients, provide a very valuable means of approach to the study of the nature and course of development of the mental life of normal people.

Beside the auto-erotic motives for the habit of echolalia, there

³ That a sexual note is attached to this, follows from the fact that certain rhythmical movements lead to the orgasm.

are others which have reference to the relations (of an unpleasant sort, it must be said) subsisting between children and their neighbors. A convenient means of disturbing and irritating people around him is offered the child in the ceaseless word repetitions; and he employs them to express stubbornness and self-will, precisely as he makes use of so many other acts of obstinacy. In general, playing with speech (*das Spielen mit der Sprache*) is well adapted to many a transgression of etiquette. The well-bred child knows very well that punishment, more or less severe, is supposed to follow rude language toward parents and toward other members of the family; but how shall he free himself of his feelings of resentment (or of enmity), feelings which have been plentifully stored up even against the persons most loved? The mother-wit of the child knows how to find a way out of the difficulty. He has but to invent, for the person who for the moment is the object of his dislike, a series of innocent seeming names, such as names of different pieces of household furniture, of different animals, etc., in order in the end to arrive at an expression, still permissible but which the initiated can understand in the sense intended. It was not "nonsense," nor sheer mischief, that made little Scupin,⁴ in his third year, designate the people round him in the strangest fashions, such as,—“Mamma is poison” (he knows that word from his father’s deadly cyanide of potassium glass); “Grandma is stupid;” “Mamma is a Hullegänssen;” “Papa is a stove.” It was not without thought that he chose for his mother, at one time the designation “poison,” which of course had been explained to him as something dangerous, something dreadful, something that one must not touch—and at another time, the word “Hullegänssen.” It was not a flattering term that he selected for his grandma; and only for the person whom he held in peculiar respect, namely his father, did the child halt at the word, “stove.” At the end of his third year, he used to call the people of the household “rascals,” and ran screaming with delight from one person to another to honor each of them with this form of address.⁵ K. Groos reports⁶ that little Marie G—, in her third year, called out to her father,—“Papa, you are a—stove; you are a—plate.” And Groos adds:—“The expression of her face betrayed all too plainly that in her inmost heart she carried the thought of designations which were much less harmless.” My nephew, who lived in my house during

⁴ Scupin, I. c., I, p. 125.

⁵ Scupin, I. c., I, p. 195.

⁶ K. Groos, *Die Spiele der Menschen*, p. 289.

his fourth year, was warned not to disturb my siesta after dinner. To all appearances he submitted willingly, but one noon he began,—“Auntie H—, you are a lamp, a table, a salver, a wine-glass, a plant in a flower-pot, a chaise longue.” Another boy brought out a similar set of names in honor of his father, and closed the list with,—“You are a broken carpet-beater” (with such a carpet-beater the little fellow had received a few blows from his father, a few days before). When there is a wish in the background of a child’s mind, however, a wish which he hopes to have fulfilled, then the little rogue takes pains to think out the most attractive comparisons possible. “Auntie H—, you are a new feather hat, a bottle of perfumery,—a prom-enader; you are a chocolate layer-cake too,—you are an automaton. (This had reference to the chocolate figures (Schokoladenautomaten) from which he was allowed, once in a while, to pull out a sweet morsel.) All these different designations were indirect expressions of his wish to go to walk with me and to be taken to a confectioner’s shop. In this way the child-mind understands how to express, as through the “language of flowers,” what he is forbidden to say in direct words—or else it is something in regard to which his awakening pride fears to be repulsed. The mistakes and errors in the use of words, the “Wortentstellungen” so common among children, are to be explained not only as the result of ordinary slips and blunders, but also as based on mental causes of more complex sort. Students of child-life (auf pädologischem Gebiete) are apt to classify such mistakes (Entstellungen) as “reproductive” and “apperceptive,” but overlook the factor which is perhaps of most significance—namely, the work of the unconscious mental processes which intentionally allows the ideas inspired by it to take a wrong path in order to secure expression for the thoughts and wishes that have been forcibly repressed and pushed aside. Just as the adult seeks to mask the utterances of his “subconscious” by giving the excuse of having made a mistake in speaking, a mistake in writing, etc., so does the child, even at the first stage of speech-development, know how to express forbidden cravings (Gelüste) under the protective cover (Deckmantel) of imperfect ability to speak. And so too, at a later stage, through the instinctively adopted device of a regression to the baby-speech of early childhood, he sets himself back into a period of life in which much was yet permitted him which is forbidden to the older child. Also through intentional changing of the form of words, in doing which he goes backward in memory to the time when he first learned to speak, he succeeds in

giving voice to a momentarily intensified desire for tenderness, such as formerly had found expression in the flattering terms which mother and child exchanged in a language understood only by themselves. No lexicon can contain all the pet names which spring from the child's mind and heart (*Gemüte*). A four-year-old boy formed from "Bube, Bubi" the pet name "Pupuluh" and applied it to his father. Another boy who heard his mother's "softness" (*Molligkeit*) jokingly praised by his father, gave her the name of "Mohli." The vocabularies of children contain countless words of affection which serve as threads—hidden from our ken—by means of which the innermost mental life of the child is linked with the external world. Only once in a while, in a comprehending flash, do we gain some idea of these intimate relationships. My six-year-old nephew, who is very much attached to me, has for a long time omitted to use the relatively formal term, "Auntie" in his talks with me. He changed the name, "Hermione," first into "Hermun" and then into "Herman." When informed that that is a boy's name, he replied,— "That doesn't matter! You are a real man." ("But that will not do. I am a woman.") "Yes, but for me you are a man; you are twice a man, ein Herr-Mann." Here the "unconscious" of the fatherless child expresses the wish that his "Auntie" shall take the place of his absent father. The child goes to "Auntie" for advice on all questions about building houses (with his blocks), about where to locate his mills and his electrical "works." He says,— "Mamma does not understand those things." A six-year-old little girl whose parents lived apart, behaved in a similar manner. She liked to call Frieda, the nurse-maid, "Fritz." Naturally, the native bisexuality of the child always comes to expression in such an arbitrary change of sexes. Even though the strongest feelings of affection go out to persons of the opposite sex, yet no person's life is devoid of warm sentiments toward people of his own sex. The fact that this habit of bestowing names of men upon feminine persons is far more common among boys than among girls, and that furthermore, no instance (Fall) is known to me where a child has given a feminine Christian name to a man or to a boy, has convinced me that this boy-custom is based upon a subconscious wish to distinguish the beloved persons whose names he thus alters, by enrolling them as members of his own privileged sex. This opinion also finds support in the fact that the attitude assumed by the boy while playing with several companions of the opposite sex, is different from that assumed by a girl under like conditions. The latter feels herself

honored and flattered to be taken into the ranks of the boys. The former, overcome with shame, is apt to run away from even the most delightful game which he had been playing with little girls, as soon as he sees himself observed by adults, or, indeed, by other boys.

If the ability to speak, in the case of any given child, has so far developed that words are caught and retained with relatively little trouble, the child frequently shows, by some droll manner, that he looks down upon his own first attempts at speech, and he often refuses to sing any longer the songs which imitate the child's way of speaking (*die Kindersprache*). Preyer's little son,⁷ when less than three years old, "called to mind as a subject of merriment, the time when he could neither speak nor articulate with exactness." My nephew for whom R. and M. Dehmel's Rhymes, composed in child jargon, were a source of much enjoyment when he was in his fourth year, by the time he had reached his sixth year, would not hear anything about the "stupid stuff," in which—he said—"even the children could not speak properly." On the other hand, just at this stage of life, it gives the child much pleasure to distort and change about words and sentences, to suit his own ideas. As a part of this tendency, besides the obviously senseless alteration of sounds at the beginning and in the middle of words, I include the intentional twisting of words in a sentence. Ever since the beginning of his sixth year my nephew has been a master of that art. To read from left to right, and to read backward every sign and placard and everything in large print, offers him constant amusement; and his delight is particularly great when he comes upon words which, when turned about either make a new and real word, or else retain their former meaning and form (English examples,—“evil,” “deed”). One of his first attempts in this line had to do with the word, “Popo,” the letters of which he amused himself by changing about, until at last laughing heartily he announced,—“If I take away the ‘o’ from the end and place it at the beginning and then read the word backward, I have ‘Popo’ again,” evidently noticing as he did so, a correspondence between the doubling of the syllables and the form of the part of the body which the word defines. If upon reading a word backward, another familiar word having a real meaning comes to light, then his final purpose seems to have been fulfilled. In many cases psycho-analysis has succeeded in bringing proof that the so-called mistakes in reading and writing are to be traced back to repressed motives which frequently bear a sexual meaning. And the

⁷ Preyer, I. c., p. 233.

surmise is thus forced upon us that in the word-alterations made by children below the school-age we have to do with such "mistakes." A five-year-old little girl who had been instructed by her mother in reading, and was laboriously spelling out the word, "schiessen," suddenly broke into loud laughter, much to her mother's astonishment. Evidently the child's interest in learning and her interest in sexual matters had met each other half-way, with the result that by transposition of the vowels, she could persuade herself that she had found in the book a vulgar expression which she did not dare to let her mouth speak. Sully says,⁸—"In the children's 'word-play' (Wortspiel), as we call it, namely in their discovery of strange similarities in the sounds of words, also in the puns which children make, there is often concealed the wish to get behind the meaning of the words. Although this tendency implies, without doubt, a genuine element of infantile humor, yet it also indicates a more serious bent, *i. e.*, an interest in the word-sounds as such." A child may know that in such cases he is making nonsense, nevertheless, just playing with the words brings a certain satisfaction, and of a sort that even the adult linguist can appreciate. In my opinion the word-plays of the three-and-a-half-year-old little girl to whom Sully refers have a deeper significance than that which the author ascribes to them. For example, "Zuckerrosin" for "Superoxyd," "Automate" for "Tomate," "Grobiate" for "Krawatte," and "verbrecherischer Kopf" for "zerbrechlicher Kopf" (the breakable head of the doll) are all substitutions which imply very special thought-associations on the child's part. This habit of playing with words is found particularly among those intelligent children upon whom early education has imposed restrictions for which "the little people" do not understand the reason. In the school this habit acquires a new impetus and finds an especially good chance to grow when foreign languages are being studied. For in them there is no lack of words which, when pronounced as in German, voice forbidden expressions.

Finally, I should like to mention the charming word-formations (Wortbildungen) and combinations in which the poetical feeling and the inventive genius of childhood find expression. It goes without saying that it is the emotional life of the child that is the controlling factor in this outcome. A little girl four years and nine months old called her mother, "Frühlingssüss" (sweet as Spring).⁹ And

⁸ Sully, *l. c.*, p. 159.

⁹ C. u. W. Stern, *Kindersprache*, p. 353.

Ament reports in regard to a little boy, "R," three years and nine months old, that when he climbed on his father's lap to caress him, the child said he "had loved himself up (*hinaufgeliebt*)" on to his father. Naturally, interest in matters sexual (*das sexuelle Interesse*) is a rich source of new acquisitions on these lines. A four-year-old boy calls his four-months-old little sister, "Lutschkind," and his mother who is nursing her, "Lutschmami" (*lutschen* = to suck). The same boy calls his little cousin's milk-bottle, "a little mamma-bottle" (*Mamiflaschl*). He calls the garden-hose, "a Wiwi-macher for the flowers." It is true that in the infantile stock of words quoted by Preyer and other authors, not a single expression is to be found belonging to the sex category (*Gebiet*). By means of the filter of science they have been purified from the sediment of childish originality, in so far as this has occupied itself with objectionable fields of thought. And even E. and G. Scupin are content with offering the following—"Bauchknöppel" = navel, as invented by the child in his third year; "Hinterbäuchel" = buttocks, "Backe" = Wange (cheek) but also breast, "Klastiedel" = Klystier = enema, between his fourth and sixth year; unfortunately there are no remarks here, either, about any thoughts to which he gave utterance in regard to these concepts (*über diese Begriffe*). At three and a half years of age, my nephew invented the expression, "Popowadeln" for *Gesäss* (buttocks), and "anmuttern" for nestling very close to mother—from which expression he soon coined "antanten" and "anherminen" for "cuddling up to auntie." In his sixth year it was a custom between him and myself that, at twilight, upon hearing a signal agreed upon between us, he was to consider that he had permission to come into my room to romp. As soon as he heard the invitation, he used to stop his play and rush to me. Once, after having had a particularly merry time together in the forenoon, he came hastening to me at the given signal, calling out as he did so,—“I fly to Aunt Hermine's embrace!” (*lit.* = to Hermine's body). At about that time he invented a game where he clung to me with his arms and legs, and I had to shake him off. His too intense interest in this sport soon led me, however, to discontinue it. When I had been disturbed by him several times while I was at work, and I wanted to buy myself free from him by means of a few bonbons, he announced to his mother,—“Auntie H—sugared me away.” No nursery is without such manufactured words, spontaneously invented by the child. They owe their existence to his sexual-erotic feelings, and it would be a worthy task

to keep (a list) of such expressions, and to trace out their mode of origin in the emotional life of the child.

While the adult very often uses language as a means of concealing his feelings, it serves in childhood as a faithful exponent of them. Even to the small child speech is a means which he can use to pay back in like coin the energetic attempts of people about him to guide his linguistic efforts. With amazing keenness and "Konsequenz" he observes the inaccuracies and peculiarities in the speech-habits of adults, and takes advantage of every opportunity to offer corrections. Thus, a five-year-old boy who had often been criticized on account of his saying "nit" for "not" ("net" für "nicht") repeatedly protested, in the case of his grandmother, against her giving "zuerscht" for "zuerst." With a somewhat spiteful pleasure he used to listen with care for this her habitual mistake, and even the most intense absorption in play could not keep him from noting the faulty pronunciation. I recall a lady's telling me how carefully she used to watch the chance to note occasional slips of speech on her parents' part, and that she was the more inclined to do this, because criticisms of like nature had been made so often by her father in regard to herself; and she described how it was only the extreme severity of her parents that kept her from openly correcting their mistakes. But to hold oneself thus in check induces, in connection with other factors, a habit of nagging (fault-finding) which, in later years, comes into use, not for the correction of speech-habits alone, but with reference to other matters also. Again, with witty people (bei witziger Veranlagung) this repression develops an irresistible impulse to imitate the speech—or any peculiarity—of other people, and make them seem ridiculous.

In the mental life of children a peculiar significance attaches to the relations (Beziehungen) between grammatical gender (the genders of words) and natural gender, that is, sex distinction; this, to be sure, does not come into special prominence until school-days arrive, but plays a certain part even before the "school-age." As a charming illustration and proof of this interest, Sully offers¹⁰ the fanciful speculations of a boy of five years and three months, "who had learned German and Italian, as well as English, and had indulged in many thoughts about the gender (sex) of the sun, of the moon, etc. He next began to evolve myths in the following manner: 'I think the people (the Italians) believe that the sun (il sol) is the man, and the moon (la luna) is the woman (wife), and all the stars

¹⁰ Sully, l. c., p. 160.

are little children.'” In my opinion relative size (*Größenverhältniss*), illuminating power (*Leuchtkraft*), and splendor (*Glanz*, luminosity) may have some influence in the assignment of these rôles.

The psychological observations made with reference to the speech-habits of children who have employed two languages from earliest childhood, are of special interest. Such children tend to create a mongrel language which they use when they consider the expressions of the other two as unsuitable for social use. Thus, a four-year-old little girl, when in the presence of strangers, used to her nurse-maid the sound-imitation (onomatopoetic) word “suivi,” in order to indicate the imperative nature of her needs. Another little girl employed the terms “much” and “little” for summoning her nurse to assist her in these necessary acts (*Verrichtungen*). The popular periphrases, “number one” and “number two,” for what are known (among children) as “little” and “big” “jobs” (*Geschäfte*), also deserve mention here. In such a use of words it is not only possible to recognize without difficulty the root of the secret languages of later youth, but also the root of the habit which adults have of choosing a foreign term for alluding to objectionable subjects—to sexual matters, for example. Indeed, in scientific parlance it is the custom to refer to sexual processes (*Vorgänge*) by Latin expressions, although there is no lack of suitable designations for them in our own tongue.

VII. THE EMOTIONAL LIFE (*DAS GEMÜTSLEBEN*)

The intellectual development of the child stands in such intimate relation to his emotional life (*Gemütsleben*) that no student of childhood, whatever his method of approach, could fail to recognize the importance of dealing with the two in close conjunction. Nature has indeed bestowed her most precious gift upon little children in giving them, even in earliest infancy, the power to intensify the value of every experience by clothing it with feeling and emotion. The same influences which excite in the nursling the most primitive sentiments—those of surprise and fear—cause in the older child the whole scale of emotions, pleasant and unpleasant, in the strength which is so characteristic of all the reactions of early youth. The child endows the people and things around him—indeed, all Nature—with feelings in which his own personality is reflected. Many of these projected feelings are of a sort that might provoke criticism

if entertained by the adult, but they do not disturb us in the young child because with him they are instinctive and virtually unconscious. The child loves whatever promises him pleasure, hates what withholds it from him, and all that is negative in these respects he lets pass unnoticed. This egocentric attitude toward the world—taken together with the great impressionability of the emotions—provides conditions favorable to the occurrence of strong reactions on the child's part, to all the experiences of life. And it is in the mental atmosphere created by this attitude (*Weltauffassung*) that the development must go on, of the child's natural instincts (*Tribleben*), and of his will. The insatiable craving for affection proceeds also from the same instinctive attitude—a craving which, in its turn, becomes the starting point of a long line of childhood-failings and weaknesses, perhaps, indeed, of all of them. The egocentric attitude prompts the child to claim a peculiar place in the heart of the person loved, and to fight for the position, once it is secured, with all the weapons which not only love but also hate, place at his disposal. This demand for manifestations of affection is felt by different children in different degrees. The "only" child, for example, reacts quite differently from the child who has younger brothers and sisters, and the younger children of a family in different fashion from the older. It is natural for the "only" child to consider the overmeasure of love and care, lavished upon him from the very first day, as only lawful tribute. It is natural for him, indeed, to set himself up as tyrant over the whole house, and to look for responses to his desire for marks of love, even where, in the natural order of things, he would find little encouragement—for instance, among servants and strangers. Failure on their part to respond adequately to his expectations causes him severe disappointment, which is easily overcome, to be sure, thanks to the mobility of the very young child's mind. A compensation for such disappointments is supplied, first, by an intensification of the child's attachment to his father and mother, then through a gradually increasing comprehension of the fact, which even the most "spoiled" child may learn, that moderation in demonstrations of affection is better than excess. Far more deplorable than that of the "spoiled" child, is the fate of the child who in his early years has had too little reason to feel himself the object of love. For this sort of deprivation in childhood no man's love and no wife's affection can adequately compensate. Such children often remain love-poor all their lives; they know not what love means. They seek in vain, through later years, for the companion

who shall make up to them for the parent-love which they have never known. The woman who was never taught by her mother how to love, cannot learn this high art in later years. The poets, whose privilege it is to appreciate better than other men the mysterious stirrings of the repressed emotions, have understood also the lamentable fate of the child left without a mother and have clothed the sufferings of the tender young soul in the garment of song—in such songs, for instance, as those which Albert Traeger has given us, and of which his “Das Kind hat keine Mutter mehr” is a good example.

The myths of all races make it clear that the love of the son for the mother tends indeed to become so powerful, without his conscious realization of the intenseness of his emotion, that nothing can restrain him from striving to possess her for himself. And, by the same token, he tends also, unconsciously to look upon his father as a dangerous rival only through whose death [*i. e.*, permanent absence] he can gain that unrestrained access to the attentions of his mother, his first love, which he had so much desired. This glowing thread of emotional desire to possess the mother, and of concealed hostility toward the father as a rival, runs through the fairy-tales of all tongues; and young people listen breathlessly to these stories just because these impulsive cravings and emotions still exist in them (although made unrecognizable through repression due to the influence of custom and the conventions of society), and link the children, as listeners, to their own parents by strong, undefined ties. The boy's most natural thought is to marry his mother in case his father should die, and the little girl enjoys playing the rôle of “mother” when the latter happens to be away from home. In his “Traumdeutung” (“Dream-Interpretation”) Freud gives the following story in illustration of this tendency:¹—“A particularly gifted and vivacious little girl, less than four years old, a child in whom this bit of child-psychology is remarkably transparent, expresses her thoughts boldly in this fashion,—‘Now mother can go away, if she likes; then father-dear must marry me, and I shall be his wife.’” It indicates a slight recognition of conventional barriers when a five-year-old boy says,—“My wife must look just like mother.” Another boy shows his feeling toward his mother by the following suggestion:—“Mamma, if you had a little girl, too, and she didn't live with us, then I could marry her; but I should want her to look exactly like you.” With a child who thus expresses him-

¹ Freud, Traumdeutung, III. Aufl., p. 187.

self, it is evident that the inhibitory feeling associated unconsciously with the idea of incest, as wrong, has already taken root so deeply that he no longer wishes to marry his mother, nor yet his sister with whom he has grown up, but "mother's little girl" who resembles her in every respect. Remarks made by adults, now and then, to the effect that one should not desire one's parents, and brothers, or sisters, in marriage, are taken in by the infantile mind and worked over, though without its being brought to pass, for all that, that the clutch of the deeper-seated emotional longings becomes loosened. Another instance of the recognition of social restrictions is that shown by a four-year-old little girl who chooses for her future husband her uncle on her father's side, "because he looks every inch like papa—and papa already has mamma for his wife."

Another noteworthy situation is the following: Owing to the unquestionable fact that a bi-sexual tendency is characteristic of all human beings during the period of childhood, the child's affection goes out strongly, not only to the parent of the opposite sex but to that of the same sex with itself, and here also there is an undertone of sensuous feeling.² The wish of the little boy to become very soon as big, and tall, and strong as his father, although based in part on the unconscious, instinctive desire to gain the father's place with reference to the mother, betrays also an admiration for him, for in the eyes of the boy no man is so powerful as his father.

In analogous fashion, the affection which goes out to the mother from the small daughter often takes on a romantic coloring, to which a liberal dose of envy of other children is sometimes superadded, concerning advantages which their mothers are supposed to enjoy. It is certainly a severe blow to the child's pride to hear an unfavorable criticism of her mother's clothes. But another reaction to an experience of this kind is quite possible, and an entirely different chord may be struck, a chord having a note of tender child-like love. This is illustrated by the case of a little girl who sat musingly for a long time, refusing to eat her supper, and finally said,—“Mamma, how long should we have to economize, for you to be able to buy yourself as nice a dress as B—'s mother has?”

If it happens that a child does not receive, in early years, its due share of its mother's love and care, either because the mother dies, or because she thoughtlessly entrusts her most sacred duty to others, the result is that it turns, with all the impetuosity of its

² This tendency is primarily, and in itself, not objectionable but rather fortunate.—(Trans.)

love-needy heart, to the person, whoever it may be, on whom its care devolves—preference falling on a grandmother or an aunt. "The home conditions," writes Goltz,³ "needed for ensuring the best outcome of a childhood cannot be considered as completely furnished, unless to the other influences there is added that of a grandmother or an aunt." But even for those children in whose early days a kind grandmother or an aunt is at hand to meet and gratify the innumerable wishes of her dear charges, it is still the mother who furnishes the model and pattern with reference to which the later bestowals of affection are determined. Nevertheless, intermingled with her traits and lineaments, place is found, likewise, in this idealized vision, for those of the various people who gave evidence of that love which every child longs for from its mother but sometimes longs in vain.

It is also of supreme importance for the development of the child's emotional life, in what sort of relation he stands to the other members of his family. Freud sketches out, in his "Traumdeutung," in a few convincing words, how little evidence there is of real affection in the conduct (attitude) of brothers and sisters toward each other, during their early years; how much more nearly, on the contrary, it suggests the warfare of unequally matched opponents, marked as it is (in part) by aggressive hostility on the one side and impotent rage on the other.

These feelings of hostility arise considerably earlier than that period of life when the language of the fists becomes so eloquent. They date back, with the older child, to the day when the undesired addition to the family appeared, the day when he saw himself thrust out of his place of primary importance in the household. Sully⁴ tells of a little girl who was seized by such a violent aversion to an infant whom she thought extremely ugly that she tried to dash its head to pieces. Since the author brings forward this example of cruelty as an appendage to his observations on the child's behavior upon the arrival of a second infant (refusal to accept it, etc.), we may assume that it was a small brother or sister toward whom this little girl's hatred was directed. But, in that case, it cannot be admitted that the new baby's ugliness was the cause of the hatred; on the contrary, the thought of the baby's looking like such a fright must have sprung *from* the hatred. This sort of aversion is an exceedingly common one; it rests on the natural dislike felt for the

³ Goltz, l. c., p. 389.

⁴ Sully, l. c., p. 203.

infant through whom the older child feels himself defrauded of his rights and privileges as regards the parents' love. That same hostile frame of mind—according to Sully⁵—incited a boy (of whom he speaks) to set fire to the cradle in which his little dead sister lay; and this observation is important because it illustrates the true childhood conception of death, namely, that being "dead" is equivalent to being at a distance, being "away." As long as the boy sees the body of his sister lying in the cradle, she—his rival—does not seem to him to be finally and sufficiently removed; but, from having been forbidden to set things on fire, he knows that what has been burned up, is lost, is gone. In such behavior of children jealousy breaks out undisguised without our being able to declare that a criminal tendency takes any part in it. Tiedemann's little son,⁶ at the age of one and a half years, betrayed strong jealousy toward his little sister; "he wanted to strike her whenever she lay in her cradle or on the mother's lap, because he found it exceedingly unpleasant to see himself deprived of a satisfaction which he had so long enjoyed exclusively. On the other hand, he showed sympathy by crying when his sister cried." This seems a mark of real commiseration, but, to my thinking, it does not appear suitable to ascribe such altruistic feelings to a child a year and a half old. I should say, rather, that, beside the factor of imitation (which is of great importance, just at this age), another influence comes into play here; namely, the unconscious over-compensation of the sense of hostility through exaggerated demonstrations of affection. Thus little Günter Stern,⁷ who, moved by jealousy, sought to draw his mother's attention to himself while his little sister Eva was being nursed, went soon afterward to the opposite extreme in expressing admiration of his rival. It should not surprise us when children who had made no attempt to disguise their antipathy toward a brother or a sister who had figured as an interloper, show signs of the tenderest love before much time has passed. Hatred and love spring from a common stalk—from self-love. The primary hostile impulse to thrust back anything new and unexpected, when it threatens to oppose the gratification of egoistic feelings, tends to be replaced by the exalted feeling—flattering to self-love—of being absolutely necessary as performing spontaneous acts of love; while, at the same time, the joy at being loved by the tiny, helpless infant awakens in the older child a tenderness, a

⁵ Sully, *l. c.*, p. 208.

⁶ Tiedemann, *l. c.*, p. 31.

⁷ Stern, *Kindersprache*, p. 108.

solicitude, which has in it something touching. The fact that these busy, affectionate doings arouse emotion in us who watch them can have no other meaning than that instinctively we recognize in them the victory of love over the original hatred.

The presence of hostile feelings in the older child is especially noticeable when the arrival of the new baby, besides causing the withdrawal from him of a portion of the parental attention, leads to the imposition on him of new tasks, of one or another sort, for which his will and training are inadequate. To illustrate:—A four-year-old peasant boy is made to rock his small sister in a baby-carriage, she being but a few months old. He meets this interference with his freedom with very ill grace, and suggests to his mother, "Mother, take Ella and sell her; we have no use for her."⁸ But some months later he was of wholly different mind, and said, when his own plan was suggested to him,—“No, not now! Now she can play; now I like her.” This repression of the original jealousy between children of different ages is of almost regular occurrence; but it is also true that the hateful feeling—retained in part—is likely to break out with violence on this or that occasion. For many children the very thought of the approaching arrival of a little brother or sister is so exciting that they threaten to throw the child into the water, or else “to put the baby under the bed,” the place where the child tucks away unpleasant objects, out of sight. A charming illustration of the way in which a child who feels himself deposed tries to win back the love and attention of people around him, and in particular that of the mother, has been given by Lichtenberger in his “*La petite soeur de Trott*.” The little lad of this story, forced into the background by his small sister, intentionally hurts himself by letting himself fall from a chair; but then, when caressed by his parents, he admits, while weeping,—from pain and for joy,—“I did it on purpose.” And when his parents show that they realize how cruelly he suffered during the time when they seemed to neglect him, and now assure him of their love, and ask him whether he is satisfied, he replies—with eyes still red from crying, but with laughter

⁸ On the street, not long ago, one of the translators happened to pass close by an American boy about five years of age. He was taking care of a baby asleep in its carriage. The infant did not even move its lips. Suddenly the older child began to imitate the crying of a very young baby. As suddenly the mother came and relieved him of his charge, saying as she did so,—“I never go into the house but the baby cries.” Apparently mother had no suspicion of the trick played on her, and the unwilling little “helper” (?) won his freedom easily.

on his lips—"O yes, but I'm not sorry that I hit myself and got the big bump." The little peasant boy, too, of whom I spoke a moment since, used a method which he evidently thought would be a sure one, for regaining his mother's attentions. Although he had been trained to habits of cleanliness, and had maintained them for more than a year, he began, after the birth of his little sister, to set his teaching at naught, in spite of well-justified fear of punishment for so doing. His mother, although a very simple-minded woman, instinctively divined the boy's real motive, though without giving him the credit for its invention. "I don't know what I shall do with him," she complained. "Beating does no good, and I truly believe he means to pay me back, because since the baby takes all my time, I have none left for him." Unfortunately I had no opportunity to observe, later, whether the method of kindly admonition which, by my advice, was substituted for punishment, had any permanent effect, or only a passing influence due to novelty.

It often happens that the younger child becomes the warm and admiring follower of the older one as soon as the latter has overcome or repressed his feelings of hostility. Indeed, the older child's words are often clothed with more authority, for the younger brother or sister, than those of the grown-ups, even of the parents. In his older sister the boy feels that he has "a bit of mother." To the little girl the more mature brother is a second (an extra) father and has the advantage, from the fact of his relative nearness in age and his familiarity with the childish range of ideas, of standing considerably closer to his little sister than her own father does. One might expect that, on this account, the younger of two such children would entertain for the older a feeling of pure love, free from jealousy and hostility. But to arrive at this conclusion would be to overlook the fact that whatever comes to the older child simply on the strength of his earlier start in life, seems to the younger child as one more mark of preference on the parents' part. How many tears it costs the younger children to have to go to bed before their older brothers and sisters. At table, the younger children are quick to take notice of the size of the portions of the favorite dishes, as meted out to each little member of the family. The giving of a larger piece of bread and butter to the older child often occasions a cry of indignation and the scornful rejection of one's own slice. Everyone who has been much in a nursery knows well with how much envy in his heart a child can struggle for a toy to which he had but recently been indifferent. Envy is a real factor in the act of distinguishing be-

tween Mine and Thine. To be forced to wear articles of outgrown clothing which have come down from older children in the family is a constant source of deep suffering to the heart of the child. Every child feels proud to be decked out in a dress taken from its mother's wardrobe, or in the trousers belonging to one of its father's suits, and so, by contrast, an intense feeling of mortification is felt when it is compelled to wear a garment which has been a brother's or a sister's. Only those who have themselves been in similar situations, know how to estimate the amount of suffering, of humiliation that a child may feel under such conditions. The school-child who must take over his brother's or his sister's books, year after year, also experiences this same feeling of mortification. Many a case of lack of zeal for learning is to be attributed to such economy on the part of the parents. To practice it is an educational blunder, and one of which the effects can easily be underrated. Parents who have insight carefully avoid showing partiality when giving presents, even if unable to do so when it comes to articles of daily use, like wearing-apparel, etc. To the infantile comprehension equal values in gifts mean an equal measure of love. For by his holiday gifts the child gauges the degree and warmth of his parents' love for him. Since he has not as yet an adequate knowledge of real values, the number of presents given him serves him as a means of judging whether or not he enjoys his fair and proper share of the giver's favor. Three children of my acquaintance, a girl and two boys, between seven and four years old, and belonging to the same family, have been accustomed to exercise an exact control of the distribution of gifts, at Christmas time and other holidays, in order to make sure that the principle of equality is observed. The being remembered with gifts is in itself a holiday pleasure to young people. In that matter youth is insatiable, for to be given presents signifies to be loved. This fact, that the child's world of thought and world of feeling are egocentric, explains why the ethical significance of the Bible text,—“It is more blessed to give than to receive” remains incomprehensible to him for so long a time. The failure to comprehend this idea seems to stand in contradiction to the feeling of joy which the child shows even early in life, when he has the chance to give gifts to others. But when it is remembered that the child does not hesitate to demand again the thing that he has just voluntarily offered to someone, it becomes clear that it is only the evidences of love for himself that he is really concerned about, and he takes it as a matter of course that he ought to be paid back in the same coin; or, in other

words, that the gift should be actually or virtually restored to him. For this reason children prefer to give presents to grown people rather than to playmates of their own age who do not share their conceptions of generosity. Even when, through imitation of other people, and through ethical instruction, the child has learned to part with better grace from his possessions, nevertheless it usually costs him a severe struggle to give away toys for the benefit of poor children, in spite of the fact that it seems a handsome thing to do so. The strongest motive for this refusal, however, is not avariciousness, but rather an unrealized association in his mind between the precious object and the person of the giver. That an association of this sort, when realized, is strong, is illustrated by an experience with my nephew, who was unwilling to part with a damaged mill which had been set up from a cardboard pattern, and said in explanation,—"No, I will not give that away. Auntie H— made me that herself. I shall keep it forever." A further, and likewise unconscious, ground for refusal was this; that the fact of clinging to a toy signifies to the child-mind the virtual holding fast to a memory-treasure. Many writers are of the opinion that it comes particularly hard to "only" children to give presents; but to this opinion I cannot subscribe. The natural hostility between brothers and sisters directly fosters the unwillingness felt by each one to part with his own property, while "only" children actually enjoy giving presents—perhaps from the unspoken hope of having them returned, but frequently from a desire to play a grand rôle.

The place amongst the children of a family held by those who are intermediate in age, and especially by the child next to the last, has also its noteworthy peculiarities. The mental development of such a child is often unlike that of the rest. He is apt to show a sensitiveness and a capriciousness of temper (*Launenhaftigkeit*) which are foreign to the normal, healthy child. This tendency is of significance, and can only be explained on the assumption that the middle child is crowded out of his place ("als Nesthäkchen") by the child born afterward, and yet does not enter into the rôle of "protector," of admired "person in authority," as the older children do. The middle child has to yield to the wishes of the youngest child and yet is not reckoned as among the "grown-ups," the "big" children. In short, the middle child does not receive from either side the signs of affection which he would like and which he feels himself justified in claiming; and he pays back this lack, or imagined lack, of affectionateness by being disagreeable.

The relationship, both jealous and tender, which we have become acquainted with as subsisting between twin children—even in their first year—continue to exist in the later years of childhood. Twin children are inseparable playmates, and quite often withdraw from the companionship of other children. Compayré tells us⁹ of twins who thought out for themselves a language all their own, which other people could not understand. If the twin children are of different sex, then the boy's desire to dominate comes out ever more strongly, but along with this there always go signs of tender, protecting care—as of the man for the woman. Then, also, at a stage in development where true sympathy in joy and sorrow is foreign to the lives of other children, in the case of twins we find those emotions clearly in evidence. I have notes about such a pair of children who, while making their grandmother a visit, had to sleep in separate rooms. Both children complained, each one saying that it would be impossible to go to sleep without the presence of the other. At last the boy overcame his fear of the darkness, but although the house was strange to him, he tried to get into his sister's room “so that Emma might not be afraid.” The custom of dressing twins alike, either all their lives or at any rate as long as possible, may materially strengthen this feeling of belonging to each other. Indeed, in individual cases, it may give rise to the thought that to wear the same kind of clothing is the distinctive mark of the twinship. Sully illustrates this¹⁰ by the following amusing story:—A pair of twins,—a boy and a girl,—had always been dressed alike, but after a time the boy was put into a distinctively boy's suit. Soon after this, a lady asked the little girl whether she and her brother were not twins, whereupon the child replied,—“No, we were.”

The need which all human beings feel of establishing bonds of intimate companionship makes itself apparent even in earliest childhood, and the satisfying of the gregarious instinct counts for one of the strongest influences in the development of character. In the small child the social impulse is expressed through his crying when alone. In the service of this impelling desire for companionship with others, the child's budding imagination endows inanimate things in his environment with life and understanding. The power of phantasy thus secures comradeship for the child when he is alone and keeps him from becoming bored. But phantasy, rich as it is, cannot provide the child with an environment really warm with life, cannot

⁹ Compayré, *l. c.*, p. 310

¹⁰ Sully, *l. c.*, p. 156.

give him a playmate having wishes and thoughts other than those which are peculiar to himself; imagination cannot grant him a comrade different from himself and yet one who enters into every game with him and joins him enthusiastically in every kind of prank. For that reason the "only" child remains lonely at heart. Or if he finds mates of his own age, it is difficult for him to feel at ease in their company because they do not show recognition of the fact that there is something that makes his position, even theoretically, different from theirs; it is as hard for him to adapt himself to other people as it is for the "favorite" child to do so, and that, just on account of the over-measure of parental love which he has had at home. The disposition of such a child as this, one who is accustomed to rule and who will not forego his privilege, becomes unbearable after a time and he develops a tendency to obstinacy which embitters many an hour. The child who grows up among brothers and sisters approaches stranger playmates in a far happier spirit and in a more natural manner. On the one hand, the ability to adjust one's self to other people and the willingness to subordinate one's own interests; on the other hand, an early developed individuality;—these are the qualities which serve as the best means for cementing an enduring child-friendship. But that volatile amiability which leads some children to strike up friendships with anyone and everyone, only to break them as quickly as they were formed, is not to be looked upon and welcomed as only another sign of the temperamental mobility so characteristic of childhood. On the contrary, it is very often an indication of emotional unrest, the expression of a deep-seated and insistent tendency to resist the making of permanent attachments (Sadger).¹¹

No bond of friendship between children is without the sexual note. Indeed, this influence rivets friendships and tempers them like steel, just because it gives occasion for the consciousness of having secrets shared in common, and for the unconscious recognition of a certain sense of guilt, mutually experienced. It is not gross sexual offences that come most often into play, under these conditions; the mere interchange of ideas about the various organs of the human body and their functions is something that has a strong attraction for children, and this is enough. In the earliest years of childhood it is the processes of digestion, in riper years the sexual function, which most often gives occasion for the whispering and tittering well known to every mother. And then the varied games

¹¹ Sadger, Belastung u. Entartung.

which have a sexual note—games in which it is a sort of mark of intimacy to join—lead frequently, in the case of younger children, to handling each others' bodies and so gratifying, at once, the infantile pleasure in exhibitionism, and the "peeping" impulse [Schaulust]. But these facts by no means justify anyone in inferring moral depravity in the child. It is only that, for him, these primitive and important functions connected with life are not encircled as yet by that wall of conventionality to peer over which is considered as so shocking. Even at the period when education has stimulated the growth of modesty and disgust (Ekel), these sentiments are not strong enough to crowd out of the child's mind the sex-interests with which nature has endowed him and which are bound to assert themselves in despite of his esthetic feelings.

The erotic craving in the child, the desire which strives mightily for satisfaction within the limits set by nature, brings to maturity that passionate admiration for adults which differs in no way from the love felt by grown people, save for the fact that the sexual-act is lacking. Habits of cuddling, kissing, caressing—as manifestations of affection—yes, even the indulgence in sulking, as a sign of temporary disapproval, are characteristic alike of children and adults. The child selects his objects of love just as the grown-up person does, but bestows affection at first without regard to sex. Little boys admire and love men as well as women; little girls readily give their love to a member of their own sex, if only the prime condition is fulfilled, that is, if the favored person shows one or another of the traits that are characteristic of their father or their mother, or else is free from the traits or peculiarities which the child has disliked in her parents. It is something more than a superficial association that inclines children—as Aristotle noted—to address all men as "father" and all women as "mother"; children, indeed, in their simplicity, expect love from every person who approaches them, and are ready to regard every man as really a loving father, and every woman as a tender mother. My nephew, who looked at the matter in this way, when from three to five years of age, had such "mothers" in four places, women whom he designated as "Mami" with the family name prefixed ("Meyer Mami," "Egger Mami," etc.) in order to make a fine distinction between them and his beloved "Mutti." The so-called "child-love," toward persons of the same sex, certainly contains a sexual element of slight amount. That this is so is recognized even by untaught people of primitive instincts; and with a keen sense for the truth, popular terminology

chooses the word "verliebt" (in love with) to describe the erotic feeling of the child for the adult. Psycho-analytic investigators have confirmed the accuracy of this judgment formed by the "homely" folk-mind; and they arrived at this conclusion in the course of their attempts to explain the failure of homosexual patients to "make good" in their love-life, because of the special nature of their erotic experiences in early infancy. It appears, namely, that persons who have this tendency to become too strongly attached to others of their own sex, followed the right course—as children—in departing from their primary attitude of indifference (bi-sexual) in the bestowal of their affections, but failed in that they were unable to form definite attachments to persons of the sex opposite to their own. The concern which a widow feels, that it may be bad for her son's development to remain exclusively under feminine influence; her anxiety lest he become a "mother's boy" and not a "boy's boy," contains a more rational element than that which finds expression in the justifiable fear that the boy may outgrow his mother's guidance, and may suffer for lack of a stronger hand. In fact, an unconscious longing for the father lies so deep in the heart of such a boy, that long after he has grown up, the unappeased yearning still remains with him. In such a case as this, the unsatisfied longing is likely to lead onward to "inversion,"¹² just as happens in the case of the child who, repulsed by the parent of the opposite sex, unites himself passionately to the parent of the same sex. In situations of this last sort, the normal breaking-away from the too strong influence of the latter parent, at the proper time, is not always successful. But the ultimate effect of an exclusively feminine environment upon boys who seek to withdraw themselves from this influence by making a direct change in their environment, is often to induce in them an unconscious aversion to women in general, which, even though it does not appear upon the surface and is not distinctly recognized by them may, nevertheless, seriously disturb the social relationships of their maturer years. With the female sex, similar factors probably have analogous effects. It is therefore clear that in trying to explain the homosexual tendency, it is not enough to think of "innate constitution" as its sole cause, but that the parental-filial relationships, as existing in the individual's early childhood, must be studied likewise. It is also true, of course, that disturbances in the relations of the several children of a family to each other may also have unfortunate results.

¹² Excessive love for persons of one's own sex.

Every child has a natural fondness for animals. In his early years he has no feelings of disgust, therefore he likes the worm as well as he does the butterfly. And since his inborn instinct of gregariousness is at first stronger in him than fear, so far as animals are concerned, his affections flow out with equal intensity to dogs, cats, and horses, and to the bears and elephants of the menagerie. It is natural that the dog, because of its position of privilege in the house, should become the child's declared favorite, very early. He finds in the dog the most faithful and patient of playfellows. The dog even lets itself be utilized in the service of the childish tendency to violence and cruelty. The child, by virtue of his mental superiority, feels himself to be the master—and while playing with his dog, he has no cause to fear being made fun of, nor yet being crossly repulsed, as often happens when he is in the company of people; and even when the patience of the dog is exhausted and it shakes off its tormentor angrily, nevertheless the child still believes in his right, as possessor of reason, to rule over the creature that is devoid of it. It is partly from this consciousness of his own attributes and rights, this sense of his own superiority, that, indeed, the child's deep love for animals arises. Shinn's records show¹³ that the fondness of little children for animals stands in direct connection with infantile masochism¹⁴ [self-subordination]; and the affection which many children have for cats, in particular, is perhaps to be traced back to the masochistic tendency. Shinn speaks of her niece, then in her third year, as follows:—"On one occasion she extended her hand toward a cat hidden in a clump of bushes, then turned and called out to me,— 'Kittie is scratching me a little.' Then she forced her way into the bush once more and as I came near her she looked up and added,— 'Kittie is scratching me again.' With that she showed me a second bloody scratch on her finger. Then she begged, for the third time, to be allowed to catch the cat." Since children, as a general thing, manifest a greater sensitiveness to pain after their first year has passed—a sensitiveness which is materially strengthened of course, through excessive demonstrations of pity on the part of adults, it is to be inferred that, in cases like the one just cited, that the feeling of pleasure exceeds that of pain. I myself have retained from ear-

¹³ Shinn, *l. c.*, pp. 223-224; 301.

¹⁴ By this it is meant, partly that the child seeks to escape from its own sense of dependence and weakness through taking an aggressive attitude toward animals, partly that children experience a certain pleasure, of a strange but well-attested sort, in suffering pain at their hands.—(Trans.)

liest childhood similar memories as to being scratched by cats. In Shinn's niece, in addition to the masochistic tendency, a strong sadistic tendency was also shown when she was playing with animals. Shinn's report of the child's twenty-fourth month, says that a dog belonging to them had to be sent away because the little girl tormented the creature continually, although she also let herself be bitten by it.

To take care of animals, to feed them, even to watch a young generation grow up, gives the child so much pleasure that when live animals are lacking he lavishes the same care upon toy animals. "If I cannot have a live Dackel, then buy me a stuffed one," my nephew begged of his mother, when he was four years old. The care of animals signifies to the child a form of play that meets half way his own sex-interests, his anal-erotism. It is true that worms, flies, etc., appear to be destined to serve as victims of infantile cruelty, partly because, from his earliest days onward, he sees them attacked and driven away as pests; also, perhaps, because the expressions of disgust which people about him make, seem to him worthy of imitation. But certainly, in his first years, the tormenting of animals is associated neither with an accurate conception of the pain caused them nor with an intention to inflict pain. Chasing animals, catching them, and hindering their freedom of movement,—all such tendencies induce in the child the same sort of pleasure as he feels when adults play the same sort of games with him. In cases where intentional torturing of animals appears in the child at a very early age, mental abnormalities are present which stand outside the boundary-line of normal responsibility.

As the unconscious impulse to cruelty, without entirely disappearing, is gradually changed to compassion by way of this love for animals, so upon the soil of the child's affection for his parents and for his brothers and sisters, both generous and sympathetic impulses, on the one side, and the sense of jealousy, upon the other, spring into life and flourish on the same root; and it is also true that feelings of gratitude germinate in the child's heart, close beside his insatiable demand for love. With the very little child the expression of gratitude is not a sign of his expectation of further kindnesses, but is the spontaneous manifestation—in the outward form of word and gesture—of a true, warm feeling. E. and G. Scupin give the following record of their little son in his fifth year of life:¹⁵—"Bubi is beginning to give proofs, now and then, of being grate-

¹⁵ Scupin, 1. c., II, pp. 151, 213, 217.

ful; for we regard it as a sign of gratitude when the child, after his mother has told him stories, brings her a toy, and says,—‘Because you have told me such a lovely story, mother dear, I am going to make you a present of this.’ And only to-day he gave his mother a still stronger proof of gratitude. He heard her saying (to the cook) that she was sorry, but she needed a little more grated roll (dry bread crumbs). Although he was tired of grating dry rolls and was taking a rest from his labors, Bubi sprang up from his seat, determined to do his best. He got a roll and the bread-grater and began his task again. His mother wanted to take the grater away from him, and said he would better rest himself; but Bubi affectionately pushed her back, and said,—‘No, Mamale, because you were so good to me when I was a tiny baby (Pappekindel), I am going to grate rolls for you now.’” After Frau Scupin had explained to her boy, then in his sixth year, about his having grown in her womb, and had told him how she gave birth to him, and how much pain this caused her, a moist gleam came into his eyes, and he pressed close to her; then suddenly he sprang up with the cry,—“But now I am going to build you a beautiful bridge, to make you glad.” Another speech of his that breathes childish love and gratitude is reported from the end of his sixth year:—At bed-time—the hour when my four-year-old nephew too, according to his own statement, used to feel “so tender”—little Scupin, after long hesitation, and as if revealing a deep secret, said to his mother,—“I have been praying to the dear God that I may always love you both; and have begged that the Christ-child may bring more and lovelier presents to you than to me—things that you like, you know.” Such avowals, full of tenderness and love, have nothing in common with the studied thanks of older children, but come from the depths of the unspoiled child-heart, where, nevertheless, hatred also dwells close beside love. A fine distinction between love proceeding from gratitude and that arising merely from a sense of duty toward near relatives, comes out in the words of little Max: Asked by a visitor which member of the family he liked best, he replied,—“I love mother because she says to me,—‘You are my treasure!’ Then comes Aunt Hermine, because she pastes so many pattern-sheets (*Modellierbögen*) for me and gives me sweetmeats. Then comes Tante Mina (his great aunt); I like her too—(after a pause)—because, well, because she’s my aunt.”

Under the influence of the necessary and still more of the superfluous measures taken in the training of children, a good part of the

spontaneity becomes lost, which is so characteristic of their nature and so agreeably distinguishes it from the artificial dispositions produced by our conventional life (*Kulturleben*). The more the originality of any given child, is sacrificed to the requirements of education (training), the more he is forced to give up his unsophisticated genuineness, the more deceptive does his play of features become, and the more frequently does embarrassment—the awkward sister of modesty—deprive his conduct of its naturalness. Under the rigid rules of conventional modesty the child loses the best of what Nature has lent him, namely, the spontaneousness of his thinking, feeling, and acting. It will be objected that there is a great gap between absolute freedom and machine-like restraint, and that if allowed some latitude, the child might find ample opportunity for the free unfolding of his will while gradually accustoming himself to the conventionalities. But this is only partially correct. We are still far removed from realizing in practice that ideal of education which aspires to create happy, perfect human-beings (*Vollmenschen*). And this aim will remain but a vision, an unattainable goal, so long as one burdens the child's soul with the task of exercising repressions that are out of proportion to his strength. We call upon the child much too often to be ashamed of himself, in situations where his feeling and his common sense can find no reason for shame. The very young child has neither the sense of modesty nor the sense of the lack of modesty; and the artificial cultivation of the former feeling leads it, even at a very early age, to indulge in dissimulation (*Verstellung*) as an instinctive method of revenge. Compayré characterizes the feeling of modesty as a mysterious kind of instinct which works constantly for expression, and which is so universal as to be found even in the mentally defective. In consequence of the attempt made by parents to arouse this feeling too soon or too strongly, or—what comes to the same thing—to bring about a repression of the normal sexual stirrings and strivings, the child's mental growth becomes choked in a tangle of rules and prohibitions, in face of which his native simplicity gets confused and lost. Even apart from the inconsistencies due to differences in opinion between the different members of the family, there are so many inherent contradictions in the conventional definitions of "propriety" (*Schicklichkeit*)—which would fain pass for morality (*Sittlichkeit*)—that the intelligent child cannot but note them. And since punishments, though they may induce temporary submission, are not able to clear up the inconsistencies in the commands, the result is that the child is

led to indulge secretly in the fancies and cravings in which he has learned to find pleasure, while taking care to avoid rebuke by yielding an outward and nominal obedience. The fate of these repressed cravings may be either of two sorts: they may wait—eternally vigilant—until the moment when they can break forth tumultuously, or they may turn themselves gradually into their opposites (in ihr Widerspiel), without losing the undertone which was characteristic of them at the outset. Thus a tendency to cruelty may re-appear, after a primary repression, in the double guise of compassion—as for a person who has been maltreated—and of an outspoken desire for vengeance—as towards an inflictor of undeserved suffering. Thus, one sees people who, as children, did not hesitate to torture animals, grow white with anger and excitement when witnesses of such a scene. The sentiment which one so frequently hears voiced, that some form of suffering should be meted out to the persecutor of animals, similar to that inflicted by him on them, may be regarded—in spite of the apparent justice of the desire—as based in part on the still living but repressed sadism of the speaker. In analogous fashion, the enviousness of the young child may pass over into a spirit of generosity, which then, however, betrays its origin and history by associating with itself a longing for adequate appreciation. So, too, the childish tendency to tell fantastic stories which are hardly to be distinguished from lies, passes over into an almost fanatically scrupulous regard for accuracy. In my opinion, this demand for accuracy rests, however, also, on a strong, instinctive wish on the child's part, to secure the frankness of those about him, by means of his own apparent candor—but, naturally, it is, essentially, with regard to sexual matters that he wants other people to lay aside reserve. Both of these motives seemed to underlie little Günter Stern's fanaticism for "the truth."¹⁶ The diary informs us how the boy let his imagination run riot in picturing family scenes, shortly after the birth of his little sister; what a lasting impression his mother's confinement left in his memory, and with what interest he observed, in all its details, the care taken of the baby. The more intense the primary excitement has been, the more strongly this overcompensation is developed. All these apparently unconscious transformations of forbidden desires into their opposites, in childhood, are, in reality, affairs of more or less conscious dissimulation. To the child who does not yet comprehend what "moral conduct" means, and who is therefore without the inner satisfaction which

¹⁶ C. u. W. Stern, *Erinnerung*, Aussage u. Lüge, p. 122.

comes from doing right, the so-called bad qualities promise greater gain in pleasure (Lustgewinn), even when punishment follows the enjoyment, than "being good" (Bravsein) can offer. Since this is so, as long as there are children in the world, the "bad" element in the child's make-up will always bear away the palm of victory over the "good"—and the more so that most forms of punishment, such as whippings, imprisonment in closets or dark rooms, etc., are apt to carry with them a certain note of pleasure. Of course blows hurt; but psychoanalytic investigation has demonstrated that when they are applied to certain erogenous zones (as in "spanking") blows may excite libidinous feelings especially in the case of predisposed children. Finally, the fact should not be overlooked that the masochistic endowment¹⁷ of many children causes (bedingt) a veritable revelling on their part, both in the suffering of punishment and in "begging pardon," which is so frequently required of them. A five-year-old boy who was often severely chastised by his father, admitted,—“The beating hurts me very much; but when father is kind again, because I have begged his pardon, then I do not want to go to bed at night, I am so happy.” Quite often, the auto-sadistic factor comes into play, under the form of what counts as a sense of justice. Thus, little Scupin when he feels himself guilty of a slight offence, voluntarily puts himself in a corner, as if to anticipate, perhaps also to disarm, his mother's blame. When the violence-craving instinct (sadism) is prominent, flagrant defiance is the usual reaction to punishment; and stubbornness makes the acquiescence in a request for reconciliation the hardest sacrifice which a child can offer.

(To be continued.)

¹⁷ Tendency to find satisfaction in submissiveness.—(Trans.)

ABSTRACTS

IMAGO

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1. Early Religion. LOU ANDREAS-SALOMÉ.
2. The Art of Andreas del Sarto and the Influence of His Wife. ERNEST JONES.
3. The Origin of the Artistic Inspiration. OSKAR PFISTER.
4. The True Nature of the Child Psyche. Edited by H. v. HUG-HELLMUTH. I, The Childhood Memories of Baron de la Motte Fouqué. EMIL FRANZ LORENZ. II, From the Life of Guy de Maupassant. TH. REIK. III, Claire Henrika Weber: "Liddy." v. HUG-HELLMUTH. IV, Mother Love. S. SPIELREIN. V, Alfred Machard: "The Hundred Urchins." WERNER KLETTE. VI, Louis Pergaud: "The War of the Buttons Romance of My Twelfth Year." WERNER KLETTE. VII, Dostojewski, "Njetotschka Neswanowa," A Fragment of a Romance. J. HARNIK. VIII, Multatuli on the Desire for Knowledge. Contributed by O. RANK.

1. *Early Religion*.—The author gives a unique bit of personal experience in her childish conception of God and its place in the child's attitude toward the world surrounding it. She can remember definitely but little in her early infantile human relations out of which her picture of God may have arisen. Two distinct memories of her father seem to have place in these later phantasies. She sees herself once as a small child standing up in her crib as her father enters in his uniform. As he embraces her his cigarette accidentally burns her uncovered shoulder. Her screams call forth excessive tenderness and self-reproach for his carelessness, and the child is sure she discovers a tear in his steel-blue eyes. Again she remembers the cracker bonbons which he would bring her from the royal table, and which she preferred not to open because she liked to deceive herself that within were golden robes. This quality of extravagant phantasy bound with its narrow limitations is characteristic

of childhood. This contrast lies in the comparison of the limited child's world with the great world lying about it and the dream world which it extends beyond the borders of individual things. The small part of the great world that the child possesses becomes a charmed kingdom laden with the products of the child's imagination and opens out in endless perspective in every direction. The aged find again these pathways leading back into puzzling shadows, the artist recognizes their familiarity. The parents are outside this life and yet are of it, since they too come in the child's thought from those strange shores whence the children embarked, and thus they find their place with other fairy beings. The internal and the external are united in the parents and the unknown existence, appropriated through the parental power and love, just as the tenderness and power of the father had been united in the former related experiences. The author admits that her need of a God may have been a morbid, regressive wish phantasy. But with the child the phantasy life lies but a little way back. Besides the parents not only represent happiness but also what is hostile, so that in them a child's sense of security is disturbed.

Orthodox religion provides a God ready at hand for need thus arising. Her own God was however distinct from the God worshipped by her family. He seemed to be a creature of flesh and blood, to whom she could however reveal her deepest childish secrets. He had the form of a grandfather and concealed in the folds of his garments invisible toys, which like the cracker bonbons she was content to leave unseen. He was a fulfiller of all her wishes in his omnipotence, her champion in childish punishments and wrongdoing. His omniscience comforted her no less in this than his omnipotence.

The belief serves then, she says, at first as a defence against spirits, which might turn one from one's own reality. It serves, like the ancient deities, as a phantastic yet sober defence against forces and fears which would tear the child asunder. The child of to-day struggles not against wild beasts and such dangers with its god-fiction as a weapon, but against other religious fictions of its parents and its environment, with a weapon which it obtains from God, but which still naïvely it transforms into its own life symbol. For this the childish conception of God must not be less than common reality, and it must yet partake of the exorbitant and the banal. This marks all primitive religions, that is all self-creative religion. No sooner does the intellectual development begin to lift the veil of things than the soul must answer with an upward soaring in order not to recognize the slight difference between the seriousness of naïveté and that of the enlightenment soon to take place. The process of believing is an affair of consideration, effort, discussion. The periods of doubt therefore, historically also, most often follow upon the most exalted belief. They are periods of emotional fatigue. Yet this intellectual criticism guards the form of God so long as one needs him for

other purposes besides the religious. It bedecks him with such adornments that one does not know whether a mummified god does not exist behind atheism. This is called spiritualization in religious history, but it does not prevent the most primitive gods, the most infantile from appearing finally in all their nakedness. Nothing is so easily totally destructible as such a form of deity. Suddenly he has disappeared. Thus my God, the author says, went from me as a personal loss by death, not from doubt or withdrawal on my part. The power that had taken him from me seemed a hostile power. The ability to believe had not gone from me, only its object, so I turned then to belief in the devil. This new companion was not long with me but during that time allowed me to stew and broil in a sense of guilt and fear from which God had always guarded me. But these ugly things soon spent themselves like a fever. However they left in their train a phantasy activity which had before been bound with God, who had joined it to reality. Now it seemed as if the door to reality was closed. This phantasy had escaped from hell and turned me to dream pictures even though these occupied themselves with real people, man, woman or child, whoever even might be met upon the street. Out of this phantasy work an intricate and perplexing network had to be followed out by me, in thoughts of their youth, their future age, birth, death, alternation of sex. This game was not new but had formerly come to rest in God to whom I could confide all these things, even with an "As thou already knowest." The loss of God had in one point, besides the devil and phantasy effect, a hardening influence. It led the child's thoughts to a more austere discipline, freed from subjective meddling in questions of belief. She still encountered the God of her elders, the picture of faith suitably retouched by logic and experience or he arose upon a background of philosophical opinion in a shadowy, sublime outline. But these pictures and the discussions that arose about them bore no relation to the wooden image of childhood. Such a rupture occurs only when the significance of religion has forced itself upon one in such an early period of life. In contrast the representations of belief arise as a compromise between wishing and thinking. They express the force or the wish no more restlessly and regardlessly than the first naïve childish dreams do theirs. For the most exalted product of thought is no less secretly influenced by concealed motives than the most evident dream manifestations. God is made the symbol of the security, the exuberance and triumph of life. Therefore the most godly outlive his denial and what was loss becomes a return to him.

Thus the later knowledge of the child exceeded the childish delight in her God. The child's God, even while his greatness comprehends all things, is yet confined to the most limited experience of tenderness and affection. The apparent paradox the author explains through psychoanalysis, namely that the instinct for knowledge arises out of the warm earthly roots of childish curiosity about origin and sex, which lies so

near the thought of God. Thought and life, knowledge and sex, have the same source, and the questionings after this awaken the final glow of consciousness that we do exist.

A neurotic fixation upon such a source of development causes a vainly repeated attempt to open up the secret shrine of life. On the other hand a fullness of life would drive these things from memory. Thus a negative and a positive result of such experience remained for the author, the former a prejudice against any consciousness of guilt as if in the last analysis there was a denial of the "forbidden and permitted." The latter was a feeling that all joy had an eternal sanction about it, as if it were an endless variation of Spinoza's word, "Joy is perfection." One can understand this twofold feeling, which rested to some extent still upon childish impressions, as a demand for the security of life, if one remembers that when life seems most sufficient, most creative, then it approaches the religious. The exaltation that accompanies even the physical act of procreation, which man transforms into the most infantile idealization and deification, must also extend back into the original spiritual symbol, the completeness of which lies enfolded in the child. Life is the meaning of it all, and "God" is merely the final accent thereof.

2. *The Art of Andrea del Sarto and the Influence of His Wife.*—Jones offers a psychoanalytic interpretation of the puzzling contradictions in the work of this artist. His technique was faultless and of a marvelously high character. Yet his spirituality remained undeveloped and his work, with all its outer perfection and promise, never attained the height of genius which might have been his. It is easy to attribute this to the influence of his wife, who selfishly tyrannized over his private life and his work as well. He loved her passionately and submitted himself fully to her domination. The reason for this state of affairs, however, gives the ultimate explanation also for his failure. Jones believes it lies in the over development of the homosexual component of his nature with the consequent atrophy of the opposite. His part in his married life as well as in his relations of friendship was the feminine rather than the masculine part, and this feminine characteristic is dominant also in his productions. The daily struggle which the exactions of his wife called forth prevented the deeper struggle which would have resulted in a truly spiritual sublimation in his work. Possibly the early infantile conflicts were not sufficiently strong to lead him to older paths of infantile fixation, which might have furnished incentives to his work, or he had not the characteristics for sublimation. At any rate his love for Lucrezia, his wife, was the refuge from the homosexual conflict and at the same time gave ample satisfaction to the masochistic instinct accompanying homosexuality. The intensity and servility of his love were conditioned by the strength of the repressed hatred which must have existed as well as by his need of this refuge. Andrea himself, accord-

ing to Browning's psychological characterization, felt this imperfect, one-sided development of his nature when he says, "And thus we half-men struggle."

3. *The Origin of the Artistic Inspiration.*—Pfister here continues some of the penetrating work of Freud and his followers, by presenting the analysis of a young artist carried out through an investigation of his paintings and drawings. Most of them were spontaneously produced during the course of the analysis, and show thereby emphatically their close relationship to the dream and adaptability to the same methods of interpretation. They arise from dreams of the day or of the night or are closely connected with them. They reveal an overpowering parent complex with its many manifestations. Father hatred, strongly repressed desire for the mother, which manifests itself in suicidal and particularly burial phantasies, express themselves variously and unmistakably. The attitude toward the patient's sisters is of marked interest. The older sister, consciously loved, stands for the higher sublimated honor and respect due the mother, while the younger sister, an acknowledged object of hatred, represents the sensuous level of the mother desire from which arises the unconscious conflict. The analysis through the pictures, Pfister acknowledges, is necessarily fragmentary and incomplete. Yet it is of particular value in that it reveals distinctively the functional value of the artistic productions as of the dream. The lad manifested a ready response to the analysis and these successive productions show the effort of the unconscious to turn its original conflicts to their own solution. It does not discard the earlier means of expression but throws into them new interpretation which the associations plainly reveal as a gradual emergence into freedom and a true endeavor to make it his. Psychoanalysis may be said to have robbed art of its high distinction as an inspiration from above, since it finds its origin in natural causes and aims. But on the contrary it lays upon it a new honor, in that it recognizes it as the good Samaritan to the wounded, the bound, the sick. It too has its mission of healing and setting free.

4. *The True Nature of the Child Psyche.*—I. Mental conflicts etch themselves deeply in the child soul. This grouping of pictures out of child life impresses one with the universality of this fact as well as its significant reality for the child's later life. It reveals also the varying modes of reaction to the conflicts, sometimes inadequate, sometimes forcefully though naïvely satisfactory. Baron Fouqué, author of *Undine*, in his autobiography reveals an unrecognized combined father and mother phantasy. The desire to be one with the father, to take his place, to measure up his small stature with the greater size of his father, draw unbidden tears to his eyes as he gazes upon a painting suggestive of these things. They determine dreams of confidence bestowed upon the small boy by Knight Roland, of contest with the father, of contrast between Xerxes and Leonidas. On the other hand the mother fancy

conditions an intense longing during illness for a certain dimly remembered picture of the adored Madonna. His resistance to his father and recognition of the possibilities within himself force upon the child the phantasy of belonging to a clownish workman employed at his home and condition a horror and loathing toward the fellow. The mother desire is so strongly awakened by her death and an unfortunately unreal view which the child had of her after death, that a severe but temporary mental derangement followed. A finally more normal reaction of childish tears and other external manifestations of grief restored him to a normal healthful, budding life. Further dreams revealed yet other components of infantile erotic desire and conflict.

II. Guy de Maupassant was another writer whose childish impressions gave a marked direction to his later creative thought and moreover to the wish impulses which manifested themselves in the mental illness of his latest years. His keen childish penetration took note of his father's love affairs and led to mention of them to both father and mother with the frankness of childhood, which yet but half understood them. They doubtless laid the foundations of the suspicion of women, the scepticism and the destructive analysis of his writings. In his later delusions he exhibited in striking symbolism phantasies of great potency. The tragic pathos of his phantasy found expression one day at the institution where he was cared for, and where he busied himself still with botany. He stuck a branch into a garden bed in order that "next year young Maupassants might be found here." His procreation phantasies revealed themselves further in a conception of the sound of the seeds working their way up beneath the earth. "They are the engineers," he said, "who root up and hollow out the earth," the mother earth with whom he would replace the father.

III. The author who gives a glimpse into "Liddy's" soul seems to know something of the universal basis of childhood's conflict which Freud has analyzed. Liddy, twelve years old, must pass the night in her mother's bed because her mother's presence is required in the nursery. Neither Liddy nor the mother can understand the reluctance with which she consents to the arrangement, but it arouses an undefined feeling of shame that she should have revealed her inner self to such a degree to the mother. The sight of the two beds side by side, the washstand, the smell of the soap, arouse strong painful aversion in the child. When the father comes in and begins to undress she lies in a burning excitement which forces her to peep at his undressing and yet a cold shudder seizes her body. Hatred and jealousy seem to take possession of her, and also a desire to remain unnoticed. The father, evidently considering the child who lies there apparently asleep, extinguishes the light and finishes disrobing in the dark. The father's hesitation seems to rend the veil from Liddy's eyes and permit the shame and distress which arise from a sense of unconscious guilt, due to incestuous impulses, while

she feels, too, the limitations of her twelve years. She can bear the situation no longer, but waiting only until assured by her father's regular breathing that he is asleep, she escapes to a divan in the living room, where her mother finds her next morning in a profound slumber.

IV. Another illustration from childhood furnishes an example of the early pleasure in the physical touch component of love. The strength of this infantile feeling instinct, thus early manifest, must impress its mark on later development. If it remains attached to the mother image it surely provokes resistance toward the adult sexual object, while the unconscious incestuous love expresses itself consciously in shame, disgust and anxiety. An example from a Russian romance illustrates the employment of Freudian principles of analysis to find the source of an apparently unmotivated anxiety that appears in special circumstances. The cause is soon discovered and the anxiety disappears. The ready success of this incomplete analysis shows that a certain portion of an experience can be successfully repressed unless there is too great an accumulation of unpleasant experience with its accompanying feeling tone, when pathological symptoms result.

V. A brief extract from Alfred Machard's "*Les Cent Gosses*" ["The Hundred Urchins"] introduces those children who live near to their natural instincts, and untutored and uncared for make their own way through life's demands. The incident has its pedagogic, its social, its human significance. A band of maidens, bold little "Amazons" plan a street attack upon a lad who has aggressively annoyed them through attempts to repeat experiences which he has surreptitiously witnessed between his parents in their one-roomed dwelling. The courage of the maidens dwindles rapidly before the enemy appears until only the courageous leader is left standing alone. The lad appears. He greets her banteringly and leering. And she—the one brave member of the attacking band—yields at once, almost without demur, and consents to gratify his desire.

VI. "*La Guerre des Boutons, roman de ma douzième année*" ["The War of the Buttons, A Romance of My Twelfth Year"] by a youthful writer, Louis Pergaud, offers another such picture of the unrefined activities of children. It describes the youthful continuation of a feud between elders. The children's method of attack is to tear off the buttons and tear out the button holes from the enemies' clothing, strip their adversaries and send them home naked, while the trousers are twined about the statue of St. Joseph. Such is the grossness, the mischief, the irreverence of childhood. Yet they harbor no enmity toward each other, and contrary to the lasting hatred of their elders, tomorrow the hatchet will lie buried and they will meet in the schoolroom on common terms.

VII. One more bit of childhood tragedy strongly urges upon us the universality and potency of the Oedipus complex, which has been recognized though not perhaps understood in the intuition of many artistic

writers. An extract from a romance of Dostojewski concerns itself with the conscious outgrowth on the part of an unhappy child of a hatred and aversion to the mother with a strong affection and partisanship toward her stepfather. The home was a wretched one, the father poor, unsuccessful, and by no means blameless for the misery and dissension in the home. The heroine in reviewing this portion of her history recognizes this and questions why her attitude should be such as it is, why her sympathies were all with the father, while she had not the least concern for her mother's distress. "I knew," she finally says, "what it was; it was my phantasy love for my father, which blighted me in its exclusiveness."

VIII. Still one more of these valuable extracts gathered by v. Hugel-Hellmuth. Multatuli, the keen psychological portrayer of human nature, pictures the growing child in whom the unfolding desire for knowledge is accompanied by a simultaneous unfolding of affection toward his female companion, who answers his questions. Multatuli discusses with this the close relation of the desire for knowledge and for love. Both arise from the same root, and impel to exploration, research, to all methods of acquiring knowledge as well as to all forms of love's adventure. Neither instinct however comes to full satisfaction. Were it so man would come to a standstill. The impossibility of their satisfaction conditions then a third human need, rebellion against denial and the impulse to strive. All are grounded in the same foundation upon which love grows, not merely sensuous love, but the love which, like desire for knowledge, would press on, discover, possess, lead and honor. The task and the desire of the lover or of the investigator of nature are the same.

VARIA

Hypnotism and Psycho-Analysis: A Comparison.—In these days of stress, when neurasthenia stalks grimly in our midst, it will not be out of place to compare hypnotism and psycho-analysis in their curative aspects.

I will declare frankly at the start, that I am in favor of psycho-analysis, but by comparing the two treatments desire to show the reason for my preference.

The power of the hypnotist lies in the capacity for arousing "a desire to please" the physician, in the mind of his patient.

We must then ask ourselves, "Why does the patient desire to please the physician?" The answer is or must be, if truthful, "because the hypnotist has succeeded in attracting the patient's libido." Soul and body cannot be divided. Where the mind leads the body follows and vice versa.

It will be useless to hold up one's hands in horror at the above statement. We are not treating the subject sentimentally, but scientifically.

Conscientious hypnotism is a *partial* sublimation of the sexual instincts, because a worthy operator honestly desires to benefit humanity.

But unless he can attract the patient sexually, however subconscious the process may remain, he may just as well sail paper boats on the nearest pond!

The objection to this statement that at once occurs to the lay mind is: "How can a male operator attract a male patient?"

In these enlightened days we have learned that the line between male and female is "an imaginary line," and that no hard-and-fast demarcation of the sexes is possible.

Let us now turn to the question of psycho-analytic treatment.

To me, its great superiority over hypnotic treatment lies in the fact of its much more successful sublimation. The "desire to please" is still there, or the treatment could not continue, for the patient would become taciturn and unresponsive.

However, there is a much greater personal detachment and even in the case of a transference, the bond is looser and more easily removed.

If a hypnotist is really successful, he must either keep the patient in bondage, or else cast him like an infant into the desert, without visible means of sustenance!

The great difficulty and crowning achievement of psycho-analysis is the accomplishment of successful transferences. Hypnotism leaves the question of transferences severely alone, often with very cruel results.

Personally, I believe the old prejudice against hypnotism, namely that it "sent people crazy," simply lay in the fact that if the operator brusquely deserted the patient, a severe neurosis was set up.

One of the gravest objections to psycho-analysis, especially nowadays, is the great length of time that it may take to make a successful analysis. This is true, at the moment, but when the treatment, which is at present only in its infancy, progresses further, it is more than likely that speedier methods may be discovered. Also the length of time depends a great deal on the skill and tact of the analyst.

An unskilful practitioner will "side track" too frequently and become involved in a mass of unnecessary detail.

The majority of patients will do anything to "mark time."

They have already made some sort of an adjustment to their conditions and have too lively a remembrance of former conflicts, to welcome any disturbance which may involve fresh struggles—"Peace at any price" is their desire.

But a clever analyst will endeavor to circumvent this desire, knowing that stagnation is fatal.

"Move on" must be the order of the day, with perhaps an occasional "breather." Personally, I consider that if a patient is once allowed to linger unduly on the upward course, that the analyst loses power. The patient discerning signs of weakness and incapacity loses respect for the analyst and if that occurs, the case is lost.

Of course, an unskillful analyst may do as much harm as the hypnotist, by becoming entrapped in a transference, from which he can see no escape, but I venture to assert that this will not occur if he keeps his goal steadily before him and does not allow his vanity to be tickled.

A successful psycho-analyst must be unselfish, a devotee of truth and a real lover of humanity.

He will then be great enough to rise above personalities and see all things in the pure light of science.

I will now ask you to compare the *most* favorable hypnotic conditions and those most favorable for psycho-analytic treatment.

We will first consider the hypnotic conditions. An element of sensuousness is essential to the *greatest* success; a dimly-lighted room, soft music, the scent of hot-house flowers, would all be aids to the most advantageous results; everything must be harmonious—soothing.

For the patient to recline on a comfortable couch amongst soft cushions is desirable, in fact, briefly, the *most* favorable conditions are precisely those which would be ideal for sexual intercourse.

The psycho-analyst, on the contrary, does not require a sensuous setting. He merely requires a friendly relationship to be established between himself and his patient and they might be seated in an empty room for all it would matter, in fact the less the surroundings affected or distracted the patient, so much the better. The situation may be

compared to that between counsel and defendant. Any element of sensuousness would be a very great hindrance.

Although personally, I consider the temporary attachment of the libido to the analyst, to be a necessity, the slighter the bond the better, and as luxurious surroundings tend to strengthen the material attachment, the less they are "en évidence" the better.

The attachment of the libido must merely be the body following the soul, not the soul of the body, as is invariably the case in hypnotism. The subconscious sexual attraction will be deeper in proportion to the mental elevation and the sublimation be therefore more perfected.

To refer again to hypnotism. Consider the importance of the fixed gaze—the power of the eye.

It is well known that the eye is a sexual symbol, and with good reason!

It is possible to make love with the eyes alone. All this is grossly physical and exerts a powerful sexual influence on the patient.

I am willing to admit that slight cures may be accomplished by hypnotism, without any apparent ill resulting, but they are hardly worth considering. Any really important "cure" must involve the sexuality of the patient, so deeply, that harm is bound to result.

Probably if the cases were closely followed up, the after results of the slight cures would be found to result in slight neurosis.

Of course, much harm may result from psycho-analysis if practised by unskilful analysts.

The responsibility is great and the true analyst requires special qualifications. If unskilful, he may become the tool of the patient, instead of his master.

Psycho-analysis reëducates. Hypnotism merely substitutes one sexual object for another.

I do not think that anyone who has studied these questions deeply, can fail to come to the same conclusion.

Most hypnotists get a large amount of subconscious sexual gratification from their patients and so blind themselves to the truth. Rationalization is not easily avoided. The most ardent devotee of truth is not perfectly immune from self-deception and I should indeed be unwilling to blame anyone for what the most honest man may scarcely avoid.

Physicians, who have practically renounced hypnotism, still occasionally use it for the purpose of bringing certain forgotten facts back to the patient's memory.

This is unnecessary.

The hypnotist is powerless to make anyone act against their own will and anything that a patient would be likely to reveal in hypnosis, he would just as readily reveal to a skilful and tactful analyst without having been hypnotized.

Indeed, the mere fact of his having forgotten the subject would be

an important clue in itself and might furnish valuable material for the analyst.

Hypnotism is useful in cases of severe pain, but this merely shows that the pain is a defense reaction or a manifestation of a desire (as for instance the simulated labor pains a spinster sometimes experiences at menstruation), and can be eliminated at the patient's will.

A patient comes to a hypnotist and says: "I have such and such a fear or habit or nervous trouble, can you cure me?"

The hypnotist considers the case and may agree to undertake it. He does not ascertain if the desire of the sufferer to have the trouble removed is genuine, but merely deals with the surface evidence and with parrot-like reiteration endeavors to impress his patient's mind.

If the hypnotist's personality impresses the patient's mind sufficiently agreeably, the subconscious agrees to renounce the nervous trouble, originally arisen from some repression of the patient's libido (which now attaches itself to the hypnotist) and hey presto! the "cure" is complete.

But if the hypnotist cannot give sufficient in exchange for the original sexual attraction, he has to register—a failure!

It always reminds me of a hen scratching in a garden, compared to the careful cultivation of the soil by an expert—the expert being the psycho-analyst.

I am writing this article to show that in spite of the more speedy methods of hypnotism, the tortoise-like analyst may arrive first at the destination. The true hypnotist is born, not made.

Anyone with a sufficiently attractive personality can accomplish *some* cures, but the really great hypnotist is going to strew his triumphant course with the bodies of his victims. Sexuality has at its root, a love of power, and hypnotism gratifies this feeling, whilst disguising it under the cloak of philanthropy.

The psycho-analyst bases his success on the *elimination* of his personality, the hypnotist on the *assertion* of his personality.

If anyone can convince me of the fallacy of my arguments and assertions, I shall be happy to be corrected (for truth is our goal) but I doubt any one's ability to do so. I am very willing to admit that the hypnotist's conscious desire is for the good of humanity, but to truly benefit mankind one must employ brain as well as heart.

I think I have touched upon all the chief points of comparison between hypnotism and psycho-analysis and will therefore conclude with a quotation which seems to me to sum up the true spirit of the psycho-analyst and distinguish his work from the surface treatment of the hypnotist—

"There rises an unspeakable desire
After the knowledge of our buried life;
A thirst to spend our fire and restless force
In tracking out our true, original course."

CECILIA FAN COURT STREETEN.

Idealism and Psycho-Analysis.—To the psycho-analyst it is given to discover the heights and depths of human nature. But I wish to speak chiefly about the heights, for the depths are but the pit into which the aspiring soul falls in its desperate attempts to rise higher.

All of us are idealists.

Humanity is ever seeking an ideal and all life is but an attempt to dwell in the light and inspiration of an ideal. Naturally we first endeavor to idealize our parents and most blessed are those who can successfully do so; their path in life will be a smooth one, for the parents who do not fail their children are the parents who put the children's highest good first, and themselves second.

If one's parents fail one, then another ideal must be found.

Perhaps a brother or a sister or a friend. If a friend of the opposite sex, marriage may result.

In marriage, if the two people concerned never do anything to destroy the ideal in each other's minds, a really happy marriage will be formed and, if they have children, a really happy family.

But what if the ideal falls short?

Then, more generally, one of the children is idealized, with disastrous results.

For this means that the child is put in the offending parent's place.

If the father is disappointed in his wife and they have a daughter, he will probably idealize the daughter; if the wife is disappointed in the husband she will probably idealize the son. This means that the parent, having placed the child in an abnormal position, will find it almost impossible to encourage that child to make a life of his or her own, will try to prevent their marriage and will cramp and stultify the unfolding life.

For they will demand an unnatural affection from the child in order to satisfy their disappointed hopes in their natural companion.

If people realized this danger they would try to avoid it and endeavor to sublimate their affections in other ways—in religion or philanthropy or art or in one of the many compensatory outlets, offered to mankind.

But people are so ignorant of these psychological laws that the harm is done almost unwittingly, whereas if the danger were fully recognized and pointed out, much misery to mankind would be avoided.

The art of love is so little understood at the present day, that husbands and wives, failing to find the necessary interest in each other, turn to their offspring, hoping to find in the unfolding life, a new horizon for their dreams of romance.

But this also is unnatural, for anything that lays a burden on the children is a mistake, anything that makes the children of abnormal interest to the parents is a mistake. Childhood and youth should be free and gay and frolicsome and children should not have to compensate the

parents for the mistakes those parents have made in their own lives; rather is it the parents' part to lead the children in the right paths to the goal of glorious ideals. A child who has seen a beautiful romance lived by its parents believes in beauty all its life and has something to live for.

I have been speaking of cases in which parents have lost their ideal of romance in each other, but it is when they lose each other's respect, that grim tragedy stalks upon the scene.

It is then that outraged humanity, divine in its essence, shakes the dust of its city of dreams from off its feet and wanders away in search of a new ideal, and sometimes despairing of finding it in this world, wanders into the next.

Oh! the pity of it!

And yet the glory of finding that human nature is so divine that it will die if disappointed of its ideal.

I do not believe the lowest human being in creation is devoid of an ideal, however comparatively low its dream may be. "We needs must love the highest when we see it," and *as* we see it.

It is one thing to be vaguely told to "be good"—it is another thing to be shown the actual suffering caused to others by not "being good."

I have recently come across so much misery caused by the wrong placing of ideals that I feel constrained to utter this word of warning.

If a parent can be sufficiently selfless to say "this child is an individual soul and is not *my* property" all is well, and there need be no fear of harm resulting from the parents' affection, even if it become abnormally strong from not having found its normal outlet in the other parent, but how many parents are able to do this?

So many say, unconsciously perhaps, "this is *my* child, my property, I have been defrauded of my rights and this child shall make up for that. This child shall minister to me, this child shall companion me, this child shall be to me all that its father (or mother) ought to have been." And then they proceed to defend their dream from destruction by narrowing the child's life to their own selfish needs, and tragedy is the result.

Oh! the pity of it!

Psycho-analysis teaches us to know ourselves, not the shell of ourselves, but the God and the Devil within each one of us, and there are not many people who will keep up a shameful programme like the one I have just instanced, if it is brought to the light of day.

Let us then seek to "know ourselves" and realize that each man should be captain of his own soul and should place his ideal amongst the stars "where neither moth nor rust do corrupt, nor thieves break through and steal."

CECILIA FANCOURT STREETEN.

A Game of Cards—Hearts.—The corners of the big brown room fade in shadow—but the north side of it is brimful of light from a lively fire of cedar logs, which throws up the colors of the striped Indian rugs and the bright Indian blankets that are thrown over two great armchairs drawn up at each side of the fire place.

The lamp that hangs from the center of the ceiling falls over a group of three men and three women seated around a polished table.

The six of them are silent and intent upon what they are doing. Their expressions change and shift—their color comes and goes. They frown, or they laugh exultantly, as they make their moves. They are playing cards.

What is "playing cards"?

What is there so fundamental about it—that this custom, coming down to us from most ancient days, continues to charm and engross people of all ages and all tastes?

It must be because, underlying it, there is some satisfaction as common to all people as eating or making love.

What instincts does the game of cards call into activity?

There is the opportunity for prowess—for excelling over the others with its gain of the sense of power.

There is the chance—the accident—that betrays the play of invisible powers through one, which is part of all religion.

There is the uncovering of the "unknown"—which gratifies the desire in everyone for exploring and for discovery.

Then the cards themselves have different meanings. They are symbols of characters who are eternally ourselves.

There is the hero-card.

In "Hearts" the Jack of Diamonds is the hero. The Jack of Diamonds counts thirteen to the good for whoever secures him.

There is the Malevolent "dark-lady,"—the "Queen of Spades" who counts thirteen to the bad for whoever is unlucky enough or unskillful enough to have her foisted upon him!

And the King and Queen of Diamonds would seem to be the father and mother of the Hero, Jack. They "protect" him. Whoever has them has him—so to speak. As for the Ace—"Highest" Card of All—he is the god of the game—protector of them all! Who holds the Ace holds the game—nearly always.

Of course the King of Spades protects the wicked queen, his consort, and takes her wicked part; no godly ace has any power to further her destructive purpose.

Then the Hearts! To hold them in the end counts against us! To give them away as fast as we have them frees our hand for winning!

Isn't this the very game of life, locked up in this handful of paste-board things?

As we sit together around this table, perhaps we are releasing our

pent-up loves and hates—our secret ambitions and some of our unsatisfied instincts which the censor of man within each of us, guarding all our acts, has told us we cannot bring into full play every day.

In a game of cards we may find a substitute for the game of life—a substitutes that gives us, biologically, a free hand, and which, sociologically, does not offend civilization. For in that fairy land it is not unbecoming for a lady to play quite openly for the Hero, and to grab him if she can, from her rivals—and for the man who secures him—well it is easy to read from his delighted swagger, that he has identified himself with “Jack”—and in fact become him!

The game of cards is the game of love, and in it every repression may seek its outlet, every thwarted instinct may have its release.

Every fresh hand is an opportunity for discovery, and curiosity, unbridled now, may go as far as it can.

This holds true for cards played for the love of the game, or rather let us call it, played as the Game of Love; when it is played for money the standpoint shifts to another set of instincts—and the nutritive self-preserving centers are stirred and animated and unbound.

The game in the brown fire-lit room goes on—and all at once there is an interruption. Some one knocks at the door—and then opens it. It is a servant announcing two visitors:

“Mr. and Mrs. Average.”

They advance into the room and the players suspend the game for a moment. It is amusing to see the various reactions from this interruption.

The players are slightly, very slightly discomfited.

They divide their feelings partly into resentment at being interrupted, and partly into a slight, very slight embarrassment.

This ancient traditional embarrassment at being caught playing cards is as fundamental as the act for which it is the substitute.

The two visitors react also—but differently from the players—even differently from each other.

Mrs. Average feels a slight—very slight anger at the sight before her. She feels herself hardening and resisting the pleasant social scene. She feels a sort of rigidity all along her spinal column.

But almost at the same instant she suppresses these unworthy feelings. She forces a smile and comes forward with an artificial geniality, exclaiming:

“Oh! Cards?”

Mr. Average has had quite another sensation upon seeing the players. He comes forward with real geniality and a ready smile. But in the smile there lurks the satisfaction of finding out fellow sinners. His greeting is the same but his intonation!

“Oho! CARDS!”

Take any six or eight people who know how to play and care for it,

and watch them play cards. Watch the courage and the daring, the secrecy, the plotting and the snaring!

Watch the unbridled expression of masculine triumph in overcoming, and, above all, watch the relentless, unmerciful, calculating, unmaidenly play of the female!

One of the great moments to study and understand mankind is while he is playing at cards in the biological Happy Hunting Ground!

MABEL DODGE.

BOOK REVIEWS

TOTEM AND TABOO. By Professor Dr. Sigmund Freud. Translated by A. A. Brill. New York, Moffat, Yard & Co., 1918. Pp. 265. Price, \$2.00 net.

Another translation of Dr. Brill's of one of Professor Freud's works. The work originally appeared in a series of papers in *Imago* and subsequently was published in booklet form. It now for the first time appears in English.

The book consists of four essays, namely (1) *The Savage's Dread of Incest*, (2) *Taboo and the Ambivalence of Emotions*, (3) *Animism, Magic and the Omnipotence of Thought*, (4) *The Infantile Recurrence of Totemism*. In these essays Professor Freud approaches the exceedingly obscure anthropological problems of totemism, taboo, and of exogamy from the psychoanalytic viewpoint. He briefly reviews the best opinion upon these subjects and then undertakes the application of psychoanalytic principles. Unfortunately he has very little psychoanalytic experience which casts any direct light upon the problem of totemism. He quotes only one analyzed case in the literature, namely the case reported by Ferenczi. The conclusion which he comes to, however, is that the totem is a father image.

The conclusion that the totem is a father image to anyone who is not familiar with psychoanalytic interpretations would not seem to have been very well substantiated by the material brought forward. Professor Freud, however, develops this conception and in a fascinating way shows how if it be accepted a whole host of conclusions follow which fit in with great nicety to the actual conditions so far as they are known. Of particular interest and importance are W. Robertson Smith's investigations of the totem feast in his "*Religion of the Semites*," the suggestions of Darwin as to the nature of the earliest human group, and the extraordinary conclusions of Atkinson, which fit in absolutely with the psychoanalytic interpretations of Professor Freud.

The work is an exceedingly interesting and valuable contribution to the problem of mass psychology in its developmental and evolutionary aspects, particularly is it valuable from the psychoanalytic point of view as a contribution to what Jelliffe has called paleopsychology, an aspect of psychology which has come more and more into prominence especially as we apply our psychoanalytic methods to the problems of the frank psychoses, particularly of the introversion type (*dementia præcox*). What is now needed is further investigations which will give us some idea of the relative age, to carry out the figures, of the various

psychological strata. Such ontogenetic stratifications as autoerotism, narcissism, heterosexual object love; such developmental periods in the history of thought as the animistic, religious, and scientific; paralleled perhaps by the pathological phenomena of hystetria, compulsion neurosis, paranoia, dementia præcox; uncovering increasingly deep strata, are but the larger sub-divisions, the main epochs, each one of which needs to be split up as a result of further investigation. When this is done, and in addition each one of the various strata can be identified by its characteristic psychological fossils, then we will begin to have a basis upon which we can formulate a psychopathology which will give us some indication through the symptoms of the seriousness of the illness and the possibilities for recovery.

The translation is excellently well done, in fact it is one of the best which has come from the pen of Dr. Brill. It is to be hoped that the book will still further enlarge the sympathetic audience of psychoanalysis.

WHITE.

PERSONALITY AND CONDUCT. By Maurice Parmalee, Ph.D. New York, Moffat, Yard and Co., 1918. Pp. 283. Price, \$2.00 net.

An interesting little book touching those questions which arise when the individual instincts cross the interests of society. The author endeavors to deal with what he calls invasive conduct, particularly alcohol and drug habituation, the gambling impulse, and the irregularities of sex relations in a way which would indicate the degree of regulation which is possible without unduly checking the spontaneity of human conduct. The book is interesting and wholesome, but fails in that depth of insight which comes from a real understanding of human motives rather than from an effort to deal with their superficial manifestations. For example, the author speaks of monogamous marriage as being maintained in large part by "artificial institutions and conventions," as if social institutions and conventions which survive through the years could be wholly excrescences without foundation in the psychological nature of man. The author speaks of the coming of free contractual marriages in which, for example, extra-matrimonial relations may be permitted by one or the other of the parties in accordance with the terms of the contract—a rather grotesque suggestion in view of the history of the development of the marriage relation. He also suggests that bigamy, adultery, fornication, concubinage and prostitution will disappear as criminal offences and divorce become free without apparent appreciation of the value which has accrued to society from considering such conduct as criminal and treating it as such. Perhaps his prediction may come true, but it at least should be made upon a basis of an understanding of why in the past it seemed necessary to deal with such conduct as criminal.

The main criticism of the book of course from the standpoint of this

journal is that it is not psychoanalytic, otherwise it is readable, interesting and instructive.

WHITE.

THE MENTAL SURVEY. By Rudolf Pinter. New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1918. Pp. 116. Price, \$2.00 net.

Another book on mental tests, of which there seems to be no end. Human ingenuity has been stressed during the past few years to invent ever new ones, and for each person who invents a test no doubt that particular test gives to him a maximum of information about the individual being tested. The author of this book has developed his own tests, describes them in detail, and gives their application and results. Many men have devised many tests and on the whole a great deal of work has been done with them in helping classify individuals in a rough sort of way. The psychoanalyst of course has always felt that tests did not take sufficient note of the emotional side of life, but that is no reason why the general good results which undoubtedly accrue from their use should not be fully appreciated. The individualistic work of the psychoanalyst of course could not be repeated with very large groups and the efforts to devise tests which will give information when applied in this way is an effort in the right direction and one which as the years pass is found to produce ever better results. Each such book as this, therefore, is a welcome contribution to this effort.

WHITE.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS. A Bibliography. Compiled by George J. Rueger, being Bulletin No. 6, Supplement 1, of the Bureau of Educational Experiments.

This pamphlet is a bibliography of mental tests divided into two parts, the first part containing the titles that refer to the Binet-Simon scale, and the second part containing the titles that refer to mental tests other than the Binet-Simon scale. There are approximately 200 titles with a few words of descriptive text following each one of them.

WHITE.

MRS. MARDEN'S ORDEAL. By James Hay, Jr. Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1918. Pp. 307. Price, \$1.50 net.

This book is another concrete evidence of the extent to which the psychoanalytic idea is filtering through the social fabric. We hear it mentioned on the stage, we see it referred to in the short stories in the magazines, and here is a novel which incorporates it. It really looks as if the psychoanalysts were coming into their own to the extent that they are gaining steadily that recognition of their work which is its due.

The present novel is the best thing in the reviewer's opinion which

has come from the pen of the author. It is excellently well done. However one might be able to find fault with the application of some of the psychoanalytic principles involved, liberty has been taken with these principles to further the dramatic purposes of the novel. It is an artistic and a literary license which we may the more readily grant because the author has given us an absorbing story which maintains its interest to the last page.

WHITE.

MORRID FEARS AND COMPULSIONS. Their Psychology and Psychoanalytic Treatment. By H. W. Frink, M.D., with an introduction by James J. Putnam, M.D. New York, Moffat, Yard & Co., 1918. Pp. xxviii + 568. Price, \$4.00.

This is an excellent book and shows well how the psychoanalytic movement is stabilizing and how its principles are being clarified more and more in the literature. Probably no one of the many works that have been published on this subject serves to so clearly and effectively set forth the fundamental principles that are involved in psychoanalysis as they are held by Professor Freud himself. The author for a number of years has been a close student of original sources and shows himself eminently competent to speak. The very admirable illustrations from his own case material add very much to the value of the book and to the elucidation and clarifying of principles. It is exceedingly difficult to understand how critics of this movement of the sort which one usually meets could possibly read this book and if they were able to understand it fail to complete its last page without having stirred within him some comprehension of what psychoanalysis aims at doing, with the necessarily resulting stirrings of sympathy for the work. Dr. Frink has done his work most admirably and stuck to that viewpoint from which Freud has rarely deviated, except of course in his more general works, namely the welfare of the patient. It is the therapeutic approach which reduces psychoanalysis to those simple statements of fact which must ultimately receive their due scientific consideration. There are no theoretical excursions in such work which can be attacked more or less successfully by any one, but a recounting of actual situations, and the way in which they are met in the course of the therapeutic endeavor.

WHITE.

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F. F. SIMPSON,
Chief of Section of Medical Industry.

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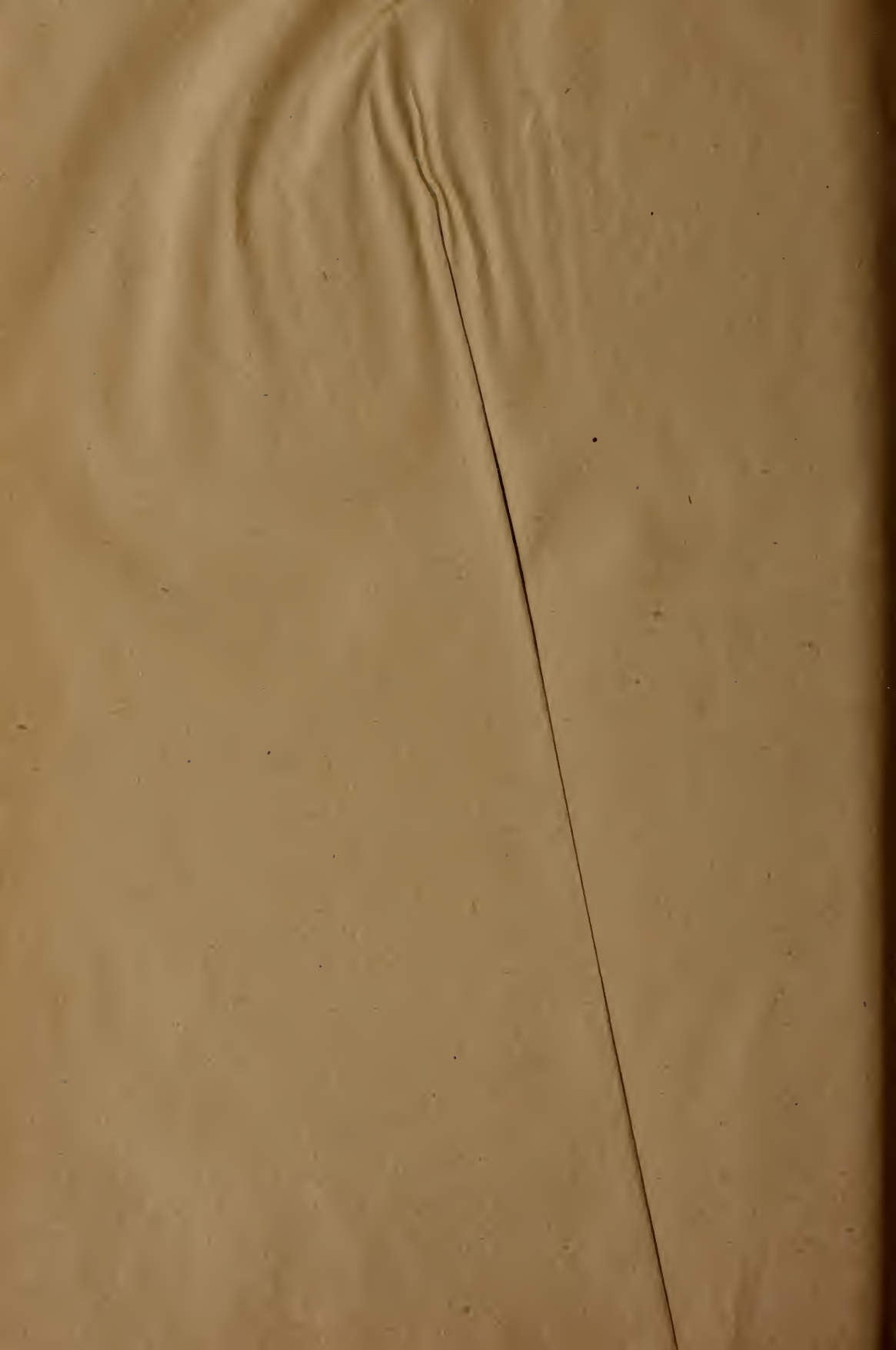
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